AFTER THE BATTLE

THE DEATH OF ORDE WINGATE
MEMORIAL TO THE LONDON BLITZ
ARNHEM VC INVESTIGATION
'BLACK' MEDALS OF HONOR

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Front Cover: Then a busy waterfront, the target of the Luftwaffe's bombers; now just an empty wasteland in Wapping but still in 1997 a battleground. Meryl Thomas and Marianne Fredericks — and little Alfie — lead the troops of Civilians Remembered which is fighting for the land to be preserved from redevelopment and dedicated as a Memorial Park to Londoners killed and injured in the Blitz.

Centre Pages: Once protecting the remote Pacific Islands of Fiji against Japanese attack; the 6-inch guns on Viti Levu are pictured by David Green.

Back Cover: Flight Lieutenant David Lord was one of the five men to be awarded the Victoria Cross at Arnhem — his grave lies in Oosterbeek Cemetery (Karel Margry)

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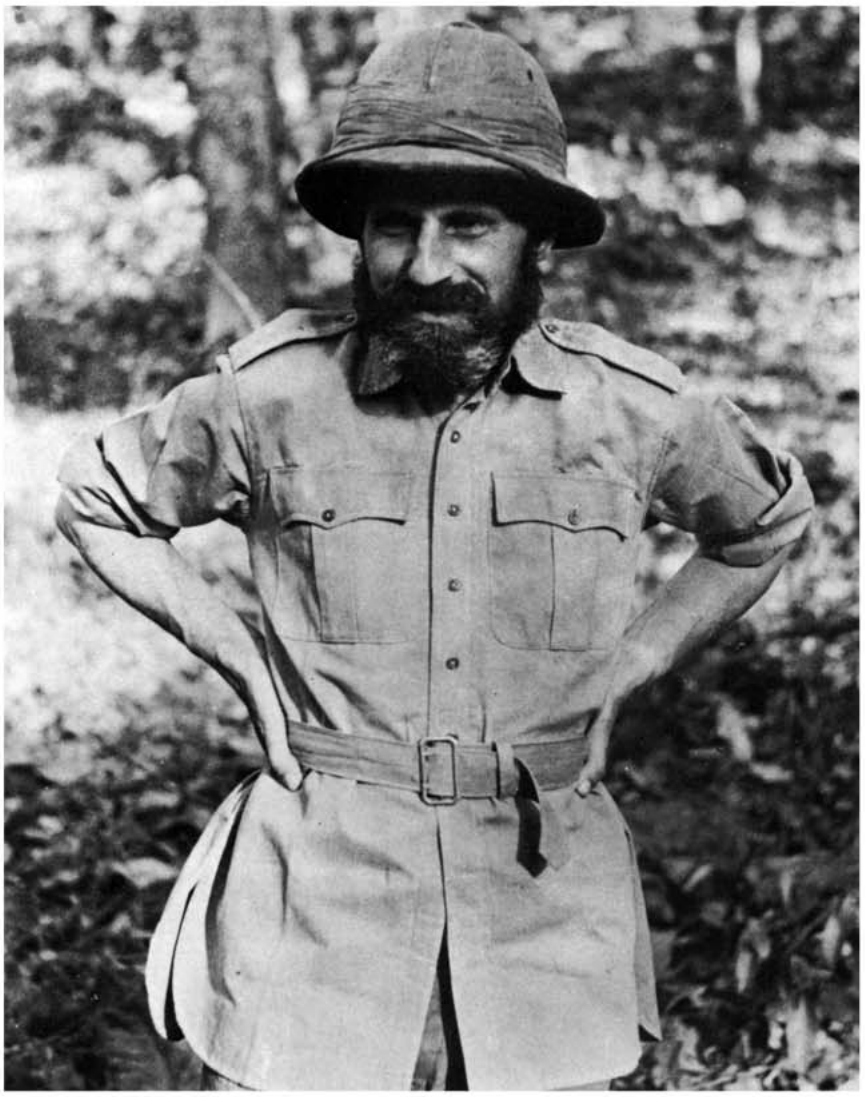


Orde Wingate . . . Brigadier Orde Charles Wingate. Born Naini Tal, India, February 26, 1903; died northern Burma, March 24, 1944. Between those two dates stands the career of one of Britain's outstanding 'irregular' soldiers; what T. E. Lawrence 'of Arabia' was to the First World War, so Wingate was his parallel in the Second. His reputation for conducting unorthodox warfare behind enemy lines began while he was serving as an intelligence officer in Palestine in 1936. Axis-inspired Arab terrorists were sabotaging the oil pipeline from Mosul to Haifa and attacking Jewish settlements. Captain Wingate set up several small raiding parties which he called Special Night Squads. Using Palestine Jews as guides, he turned the tables on the terrorists, intercepting and pre-empting their attacks so successfully that he was soon accorded the title of 'Lawrence of Judea'. Having brought the problem under control within six months, his next foray was in Ethiopia in January 1941 where he commanded a guerrilla force comprising 1,800 Sudanese and Ethiopian soldiers. Named 'Gideon Force' after the figure in the Old Testament, and accompanied by the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie, he again went into action only at night against the Italians, and again completed his task within six months, entering the capital Addis Ababa alongside the Emperor in May (see *After the Battle* No. 71). The following year found Wingate in India where he created his 'Chindits' (named after the mythological beast, the Chinthe, which stand guard outside Hindu temples in Burma), and helped to train a similar US force 'Merrill's Mauraders' commanded by Brigadier General Frank D. Merrill. In February 1943, Wingate led his 3,000-strong force of Chindits into north-central Burma to launch night raids against the Japanese, being supplied by air drops. Crossing the Chinwin river, he penetrated as far as the Irrawaddy from where his force attempted to cut Japanese communications with the Salween river in the east. However, having lost one third of his force to disease and the enemy, and with the terrain unfavourable for further advance, the force retired to India. In August 1943, newly-promoted Major-General Wingate joined the Chiefs-of-Staff and the Prime Minister in Canada for the conference at Quebec (see page 14) where Allied strategy in the China-Burma-India theatre was top of the agenda. Churchill introduced Wingate as England's successor to Lawrence of Arabia. President Roosevelt was so impressed with Wingate's proposals to assist US theater commander General Joseph 'Vinegar Joe' Stilwell in reopening a land supply route from India to China that he promptly instructed his air force chief, General 'Hap' Arnold, to provide Wingate with his own direct air support. Officially the new force was the 5318th Air Unit but its true purpose of operating as the Chindits air arm was disguised by referring to it as Project Nine. Its commander was Colonel Philip C. Cochran with Colonel John A. Alison as his deputy. And it was while flying in one of the unit's aircraft that Wingate met his untimely death in March 1944. (IWM)

THE DEATH OF ORDE WINGATE

By Dennis Hawley

Much has already been written about Major-General Orde Charles Wingate: Wingate the man, Wingate the tactician, Wingate in peace and Wingate in war, written by historians and by those who knew him and by some who served with him in Ethiopia, Palestine and Burma. Many books, articles, and news reports refer to Wingate's death in a plane crash on the night of March 24/25, 1944, in Assam, north-east India. At that time, with a minimum of releasable news, it is hardly surprising that wrong facts were printed in news reports, and have been perpetuated over the years. For instance, many references are made to the bad weather on that night in 1944. Storms of thunder and lightning have often been suggested as the possible cause of the crash of Wingate's plane. So much so that this has almost become the accepted fact, even to the point where some have recorded that Wingate flew out of Imphal in bad weather against all advice.

Journalists of the day were constrained by the censor. Similarly, official press releases were scant and understandably short on detail. As early as March 27, 1944, the PR men were putting their stories together and were requesting permission to cable. Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, the Supreme Commander in South-East Asia, refused to sanction the release of any of these reports and it was not until April 1 that the official news was announced. Even then, the communiqué carried only the barest of detail and it was left to the press to fill in some of these.

After hostilities had ceased in the Far East, it was still impossible to get at official information, and it was not until 1972 that the file on the death of Wingate [WO203/4881/7033] was released by the Public Record Office. Even worse, it was not until 1980 that the American 'Investigation of, and Report on, the Airplane Accident Which Resulted in the Death of General Wingate, 24th March 1944' was released. The United States Air Force was involved because the plane was one of theirs, and was crewed by a USAAF crew of five men.

Top: **Death in the jungle — the crash site in the state of Manipur in north-east India, photographed by the US Air Force. The outer section of the port wing can be seen centre left. The dark oval area to the right of the wing is the impact crater. On Thursday, March 23, 1944, Wingate had flown to Broadway, one of the advanced landing grounds prepared in a day by the Chindits far behind Japanese lines, on an inspection tour. The following afternoon, Wingate spoke by radio with Colonel Cochran requesting that an aircraft be sent to pick him up and take him on to Imphal, approximately 180 miles to the west. A B-25H based at Hailakandi, in India, possibly one of those seen *(above)* circling the airfield, was detailed to fly the 220 miles to Broadway in Burma where it arrived shortly before 4 p.m. With nine people on board, including his ADC, Captain George Borrow, and two newsmen, Stanley Wills of the *Daily Herald* and Stuart Emeny of the *News Chronicle,* the aircraft took off for the short hop to Imphal where it touched down at 6.23 p.m.**

The B-25H (43-4242) was piloted by Lieutenant Brian F. Hodges with 2nd Lieutenant Stephen A. Wanderer as navigator. Other members of the American crew were Technical Sergeant Frank Sadoski, the gunner; Tech/Sergeant James W. Hickey on radio, and Staff Sergeant Vernon A. McInnch, the flight engineer. The night was dark and overcast, General Wingate, wearing the pith helmet which was his trademark, boarding the aircraft shortly before 8 p.m. *Right:* **No photographs were taken that evening but the scene must have looked much like this shot taken shortly before his last flight. Although it is presumed that his destination was Hailakandi, there is no surviving record to confirm it and Wingate could equally have intended flying to either Lalaghat or Sylhet, both airfields lying to the west of Imphal. We shall never know. What is clear is the report from Captain R. L. Benjamin who was flying a Dakota on a similar course to the west when he witnessed a fiery explosion on the ground, some 40 miles west of Imphal.**

On April 1, 1944, along with countless millions of others, I heard of the death of Orde Wingate. How could I have known that exactly three years later to the day I would again be talking about Wingate? The difference was that on April 1, 1947, I was several thousands of miles nearer to where Wingate lost his life: in actual fact not much more than about 100 miles north-west of the crash site. On that day in 1947 I was serving with 'J' Lines of Communication Signals at Shillong in Assam, in north-east India. Throughout 1946, whilst at Chittagong in what is now Bangladesh and also whilst at Shillong in the first half of 1947, another British unit was based with us. This was the 63rd Graves Concentration Unit. Their task was to trace the unofficial burials of British troops killed in action and remove the remains to the nearest British war cemetery for reinterment under the auspices of the Imperial War Graves Commission as it was then known.

On April 1, 1947, I was told that an expedition was being mounted to locate and retrieve the remains of Orde Wingate. My task, as a radio operator, would be to accompany the 63rd GCU to provide communications. The unit would depart at some time during the next 48 hours. However, on April 3, I was informed that, after all, it was not possible to include a radio operator. Naturally I was disappointed at being left out, and said as much.

I waited impatiently for the return of the 63rd GCU as I knew they always came back to Shillong after an expedition and I was sure that I would get the story from a GCU corporal who shared my room. When the unit returned, I questioned the corporal as to the success of the mission, but his answers were unsatisfactory and his discomfort in discussing the matter was plain to see. I was to get nowhere at all with this discussion. Some days later, there was a press release which was consistent with what my corporal friend had said, but really didn't tell us very much.

Over a period of many years, and in discussion with others on the subject of the death of Wingate, it became obvious that hardly anyone had any information as to what happened to the general after he was killed. One friend did tell me that he knew that Wingate was buried in Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia in the USA. Why? Another piece of information was to the effect that the plane in which Wingate was flying was carrying treasure. This may have emerged from the fact that silver rupee and half-rupee coins had been found at the scene of the crash, but these were quite simply coins from a supply that was always made available to an American crew in case of forced-landing when it was hoped the money would buy assistance from the local people. It has also emerged that plugs of opium were at times carried for the same purpose. Of course, there was always the never-ending belief that sabotage was at the root of the crash. This was surely something which derived from the oft-quoted stories that Wingate was utterly disliked — even hated — and was at odds with everyone he came up against, even Mountbatten. But these were simply some of the myths that surrounded Wingate, particularly in the Chindit connection.

In 1944, Dennis Hawley *(left)*, **our author, had not yet been called up, and he was still working in the office machinery business in Huddersfield when he heard the news that Wingate had been killed. Little could he have imagined that three years later, while serving with the Royal Corps of Signals in Assam, he would be chosen to join an expedition to the crash site to recover the remains of the passengers and crew. In the event, he was left out of the party — much to his chagrin — yet his interest in the mystery surrounding Wingate's death never left him and in 1985 he began his research which was to continue over the next seven years. However, by that time, travel in the area by foreigners was well nigh impossible so he commissioned a local Baptist minister, the Reverend R. R. Lolly, to undertake a round trip of 140 miles over a period of ten days, to take photographs for him.** *Right:* **This is Imphal airfield today, looking north.**

By 1985, I felt so frustrated about the lack of information, coupled with my slight knowledge about the April 1947 expedition, that I decided to try to get to the bottom of the matter. I would confine myself solely to the task of obtaining information as to what had happened to Wingate after he was killed.

As I progressed and early material began to arrive, it was immediately obvious that I had stumbled on to an area of staggering proportion. What was to arrive in due course was nothing short of astonishing. It is true to say that for some considerable time every scrap of information which arrived raised even more questions; I remember wondering if I might have bitten off more than I could chew! But I was hooked, I would carry on, the results of my research finally being set down in great detail in my book *The Death of Wingate* published by Merlin Books in 1994.

Some readers will be aware that Wingate's 1944 operations relied on air support provided by the 1st Air Commando Group, USAAF. This unit was formed as the tool of Wingate's ideas of Long Range Penetration Groups, and as a result of discussions between Mountbatten, Churchill, Roosevelt and General Henry H. Arnold, the commander of the US Army Air Forces. Two co-commanders were appointed by 'Hap' Arnold, Lieutenant Colonel Philip G. Cochran and Lieutenant Colonel John R. Alison but, for administrative purposes, Cochran was referred to as the commander and Alison as his deputy. The unit was to be completely self-contained. It would be equipped with C-47 Dakotas, B-25H Mitchells, L-1 and L-5 light planes, UC-64 Norseman, P-51A Mustangs and Waco gliders.

By January 1944, two airfields had been chosen to the south of Sylhet in Assam (now Bangladesh); these were Hailakandi and, a few miles further south, Lalaghat. The latter with its longer runway was used by the C-47 Dakota and the Waco gliders, whilst Hailakandi was used by the other aircraft. The choice of these two airfields was an ideal one for both had direct rail links to the port of Chittagong in the Bay of Bengal and also north to the Brahmaputra and eventually to Calcutta.

From early January 1944, planes and supplies poured into these two fields and the build-up of the 1st Air Commando Group into an active fighting force was rapid. The group was under the overall command of Wingate and could not be diverted to other uses.

It has been said on other occasions that Wingate flew to the airfield known as Broadway on March 24, 1944 in a Mitchell B-25; however, the USAF Historical Research Center records that Wingate flew to his forward bases in the vicinity of Katha/Indaw on March 23 and in an L-5 light plane. On page 228 of *Wingate in Peace and War* Brigadier Derek Tulloch, Wingate's Chief-of-Staff and the deputy commander of the Chindits, writes: 'so very early on the morning of 24th March Wingate flew into Broadway on board a B-25.' However, in his diary of events compiled at the time, Tulloch records: '23rd March, OCW flew to Broadway'.

The confusion has arisen because having finished his inspection of the various bases, and conferences with his officers, Wingate then *returned* to Broadway on the afternoon of the 24th. Arrangements had been made between Wingate and Lieutenant Colonel Cochran to have him transported from Broadway to Imphal. At about 1545 hours, Wingate spoke by radio to Cochran and amongst other things asked if he would send a plane to pick him up from Broadway. Cochran replied that a B-25 was already on its way and should arrive at Broadway within the next ten minutes or so, which it did.

According to Dr Cortez Enloe, Wingate's flight surgeon at Hailakandi in a letter to Derek Tulloch in October 1972, the B-25 left Hailakandi at 1500 hours to fly the 220 miles to Broadway, a flight which should have taken about 45 minutes. Accompanying Wingate was his ADC Captain George Borrow. The USAAF aircrew flying the B-25H were: 1st Lieutenant Brian Floyd Hodges, 0433525, pilot; 2nd Lieutenant Stephen Albert Wanderer, 06981944, navigator; Tech/Sergeant Frank Sadoski, 6730933, gunner; Tech/Sergeant James Walton Hickey, 20811833, radio; Staff Sergeant Vernon A. McIninch, 18117506, engineer. Two British war correspondents were also present: Stanley Wills of the *Daily Herald*, and Stuart Emeny of the *News Chronicle*.

With nine people on board, Wingate's Mitchell took off from Broadway and headed due west for Imphal. He had previously arranged to have a meeting there with Air Commodore S. F. Vincent, commander of No. 221 Group, RAF. According to Squadron Leader H. G. F. Larsen, the commanding officer at Imphal airfield, Wingate's B-25 touched down at 1823 hours local time. Arriving at Imphal, the aircrew and passengers all disembarked and, along with Wingate, went into the control tower.

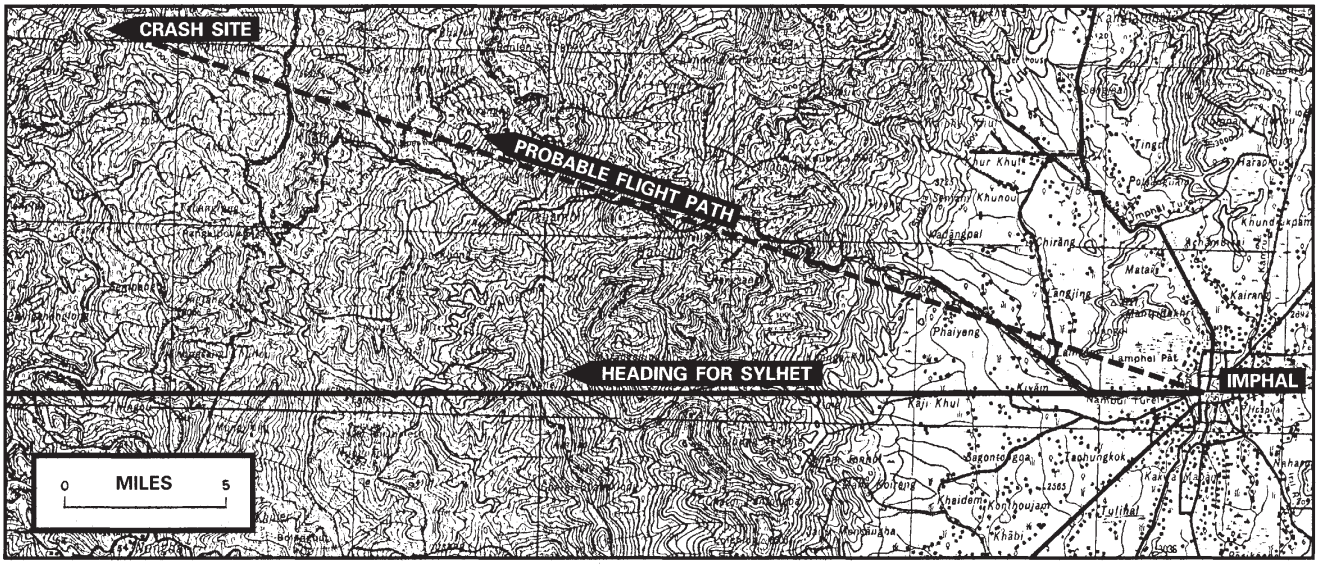
Whilst at Imphal, the crew used the radio link to Hailakandi to enquire the state of the weather along the flight path back to base. It is also on record that the plane was under guard from the time of its arrival until its departure at just after 2000 hours local time.

Since it has often been stated that Wingate took off from Imphal during a storm, it is worth examining this point, if only to settle the matter once and for all.

In the inquiry which followed Wingate's death, Air Commodore Vincent was interviewed. When questioned about the weather at the time of Wingate's departure he replied: 'It was a very dark night when the aircraft departed. It was clear but very dark and it was overcast.'

It is a matter of historical record that Wingate's B-25H took off from Imphal airfield at 2005 hours local time. The destination was believed to be Hailakandi which is almost due west but it is perfectly possible that the airfield at Lalaghat could have been the destination. It is also possible that Wingate could have decided to use the concrete runway at Sylhet, but it is all academic; certainly he was returning westwards and only Wingate and the crew knew which airfield was to be used.

At the same time that the B-25H was airborne, Captain R. L. Benjamin, USAAF, piloting a Dakota, was flying a similar course to Wingate's plane. He and his co-pilot witnessed an explosion on the ground after which a fire ensued. At the inquiry, Captain Benjamin was also asked about the weather conditions; he replied: 'That evening over the Imphal valley we had strato-cumulus clouds at 8,000ft. As we got to the other side [of the mountain range] we broke through them at about 7,000ft, and there were scattered clouds below us. Visibility below to be able to identify a fire was all right for a good distance.'



Without conclusive evidence as to Wingate's destination, the flight path from Imphal due west to Sylhet (solid line) can only be conjecture. The dotted line is the direct route from the airfield to the crash site near Thilon, just off the map to the north.

In the American accident report, the weather is given as: 'Scattered clouds over site of accident'. A member of the RAF ground crew at Imphal at the time of Wingate's departure also confirms there was no storm. From these reports I think the only conclusion one can come to is that there simply was no storm — or even bad weather.

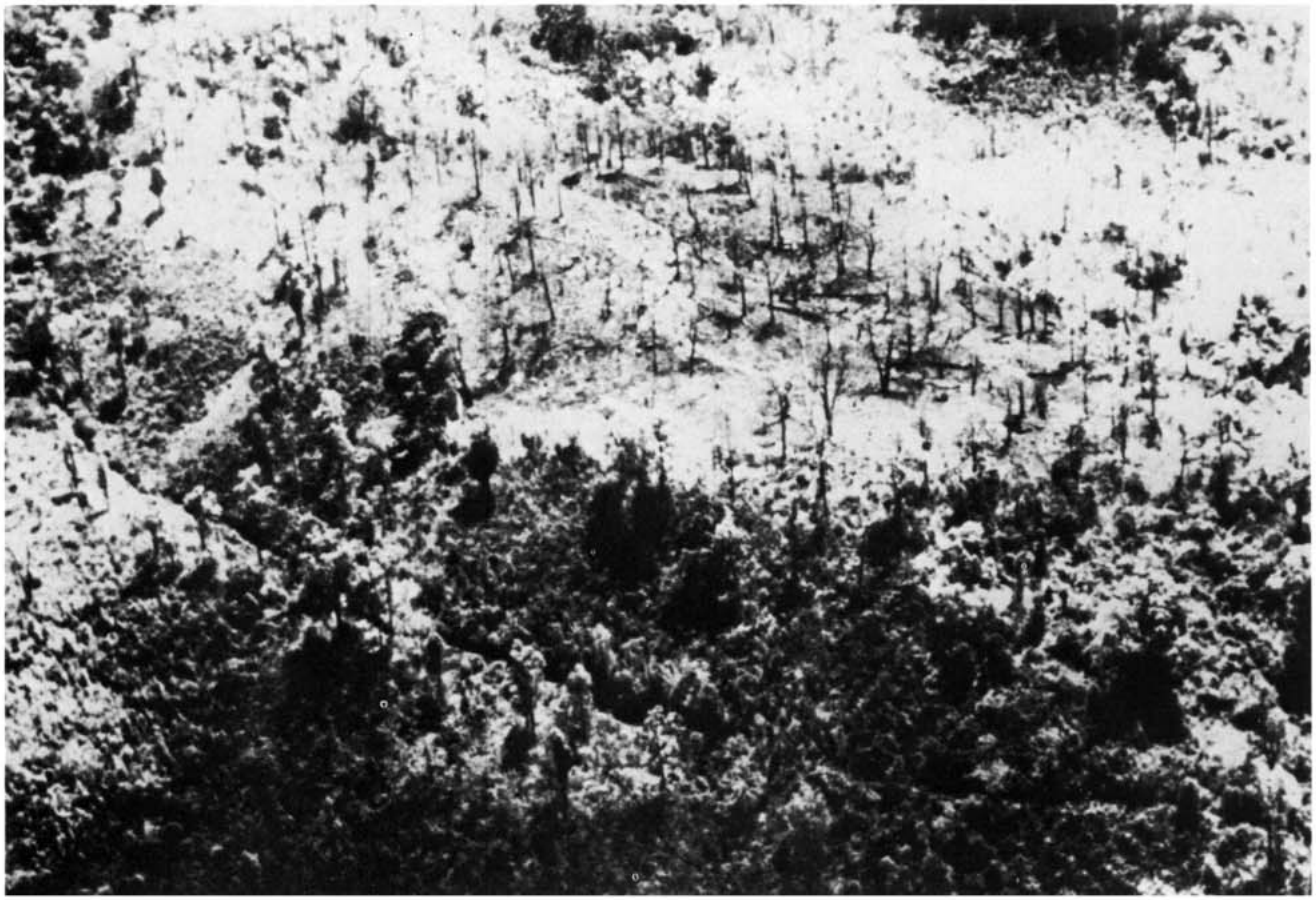
In the total absence of any official information about the cause of Wingate's crash, it was the newspaper reports that began the storm theory at the time of the release of the news that Wingate was dead. All the news reports were similar. Officially they only had the news that Wingate had been killed in an aircraft accident whilst returning from the front line. Unofficially it is most likely that PR men in the area all had additional information about the incident which Mountbatten would not allow to be released.

The *Sunday Times* dated April 12, 1944, said: 'It is believed in New Delhi that the bomber in which Major-General Wingate, the guerrilla leader, was travelling when he was killed on 24th March 1944 in Burma encountered a severe storm and crashed into a mountain side.'

From reports such as these, it has become the accepted fact that there was a storm that night. In the total absence of any other information from official sources, press reports such as those above were all that one had.

Captain Benjamin and his co-pilot noted the time of the explosions and fires as 2030 hours local time and the position was given over the radio to Hailakandi as approximately 40 miles north of east from Hailakandi. The bearing was not over 250 degrees. The USAAF accident report gives the position as Long. 93° 22' Lat. 24° 59'. The site of the crash was on a ridge at about 3,000ft above sea level and, according to USAAF, was some two miles south-west of the village of Thilon. Indian Army patrols differ and place the site at about one kilometre south-west of Thilon.

Another US photo showing a general view of the crash site (upper quarter, right of centre) on the edge of the ridge behind the ravine in the foreground.



Although wreckage had been spotted in the jungle, the aircraft was so smashed up that there was nothing to positively identify the type from the air. Colonel Cochran therefore asked for a ground patrol to be sent in and Captain John Barnes *(left)* of the Royal Berkshire Regiment, at 3rd Indian Division headquarters, was detailed to investigate. He left Sylhet on the afternoon of Friday, March 25, accompanied by the medical officer, Lieutenant Boyle, and the Field Security Officer, Captain Boyle. Captain Barnes later told the air investigating officer that 'the other two officers and myself searched through the wreckage to see what we could find. There was very little as it appeared that the aircraft had exploded on impact; consequently there were very small pieces of everything all over a considerable area. There was only one piece of wreckage. This was about ten feet long and, as far as I could see, probably belonged to the cabin of the aircraft. In addition, there was a portion of the rear wing. We looked at the bodies to see if there was anything by which we could identify them. There were in all, as far as we could see, what may be called three trunks of bodies and the medical officer suggested looking through the clothing to see if we could get anyting for identification. The MO searched the bodies very carefully and reported to me that there was nothing. I found a damaged pith helmet of the type used by General Wingate. I found some messages which had been addressed to or originated from Broadway where General Wingate had been a few hours previously, and some additional reports from Broadway. The other two officers and myself were around the wreckage for approximately one hour and we could find nothing else which could give us any clue. We then left the wreckage and went back to the village of Thilon, rested there about four hours and returned.' (IWM)

The morning of March 25 was taken up by sending a number of sorties over the area, but no one who circled the site could positively identify the wreckage as coming from a B-25H. Colonel Cochran then contacted 3rd Indian Infantry Division at Sylhet and suggested that a ground patrol should make its way to the site to see if identification could be made; also to see if anything could be done. The three-man patrol left Sylhet to travel east by Jeep during the afternoon of March 25.

The patrol travelled from Lalaghat to Oinamlong on the Imphal track, leaving Lalaghat following the track north to reach the Hailakandi–Silchar road before turning east. At Silchar, the Jeep headed for Lakhipur and the Imphal track proper making for Oinamlong. Many rivers and ferries had to be crossed along the entire route. After a journey of some 74 miles, Oinamlong was reached at 2000 hours. Here, the Jeep could take them no further as there was no suitable track and the patrol headed north on foot, travelling throughout the night to reach the site of the reported wreckage at approximately 1130 hours on March 26. The journey north on foot covered about 24 miles and had taken something like 15 hours.

The arrival at the site of the crash was described by Captain John Barnes in his evidence to the USAAF investigation:

REPORT BY CAPTAIN J. F. F. BARNES
CC Patrol sent to locate Missing Plane.
Ref ¼" Map. Sheet 83H.

1. The patrol consisted of:
   Lt. Boyle, Medical Officer,
   Capt. Boyle, FSO 257 Sub Area,
   Capt. J. F. F. Barnes, HQ 3rd Indian Division.
2. The patrol left OINAMLONG RJ 65 at 2000 hours 25th March 1944, marched at night and arrived at the scene of the crash at THILON RJ 78 at 1130 hours 26th March 1944 arriving at OILALONG at 1700 hours 27th March 1944.
3. The aircraft crashed at RJ 7483 on 24th March; cause not known, but from wreckage it appears that it crash-dived and exploded on impact. Definite portions of the wing could not be found and it seems possible that one or both wings may have come off before crashing. It appears that the aircraft crashed without warning and that it is improbable that anyone escaped prior to the crash.
4. There are pieces of bodies and aircraft within 100 yards of the area. Quite impossible to identify any of the bodies. Only three bodies have definite trunks but these are unrecognizable due to the fact that blast has made the faces etc. very mis-shapen. Two of the trunks wore clothes in American flying uniforms; a number of feet with American type flying boots on them were also found.
5. The crater (approx 20ft wide, 6-8ft deep) which contained the charred portions of the wreckage was still smouldering at 1130 hours 26th March 1944.
6. I think that it is beyond doubt that General WINGATE was aboard for the following reasons:
   (a) The remains of a pith helmet of the type normally worn by him was found.
   (b) Copies of messages which were addressed to or originated from BROADWAY were found. (General WINGATE had visited Broadway a few hours before the crash.)
   (c) Copies of BROADWAY sitreps were found.

   I was quite unable to find General WINGATE's body, the above is therefore purely circumstantial evidence.
7. The following possible clues of identity were also found:
   (a) Personal letters and messages addressed to STUART EMENY (ADPR).
   (b) .38 Revolver No. 69063.
   (c) .45 American revolver No. 1030386.
   (d) Part of Binoculars with No. 337877 on it.
8. (a) From the wreckage it was not possible to ascertain the type of aircraft. There was, however, a considerable number of .5 ammunition lying around.
   (b) The following numbers were found on pieces of aircraft:
      (i) No. ATC AD 24 ST on rear wing.
      (ii) NA 96 in 82 533193 on a piece of metal but NOT possible to state which part of the aircraft the metal had come from.
9. The MO estimates that only five bodies could be made up from the bits lying around. My own estimate is that there are about 11 bodies in the vicinity of the wreckage. I base this on the fact that a considerable number of bodies are very charred and you do not realise it is a body until you stand by it.
10. The local rajah of THILON village has been asked by 257 Sub Area to cover up the remains of personnel and aircraft with earth.

Left: **November 1991: Reverend Lolly with his porter prepare to leave Saramba for the journey to Thilon *(right)* located on the top of a range of hills. 'I am pleased to extend all possible help', he had written to Dennis Hawley, 'because the project is very important, interesting, and of great worth for the future generation.'**

To avoid waiting for Captain Barnes to return to base, Colonel Cochran arranged for an L-5 Stinson to rendezvous over the crash site and pick up a message pouch strung between two poles. However, the L-5 arrived over the wreckage before the ground party had reached it and, while circling, the engine cut out. With no height to glide to safety, the pilot, Sergeant Lloyd Samp, had no alternative but try to crash-land in the clearing made by the B-25 when it exploded. When Dennis Hawley found out about Samp's abortive flight, he realised that he was a vital witness yet the only information he had was that Samp had served with 'D' Squadron of the 1st Air Commando Group. Dennis tried every possible method to trace him in the States: personnel records, military archives, the Veterans' Administration, public libraries and telephone directories, finally tracking him down after an eight-month search, alive and well, in Jacksonville, Missouri.

It had been arranged between Captain Barnes's patrol and Colonel Cochran that on arrival at the scene of the crash contact would be made with a light plane which would be circling the area. After an examination of the wreckage, a message would be strung up between two poles which the light plane would then snatch up. Sergeant Lloyd I. Samp, was tasked to circle the site during the morning of March 26 and to attempt to make contact with the ground patrol.

'We arrived at the site at the designated time', Lloyd Samp told me in a letter in July 1988. 'Because of the terrain we expected a British delay. As ordered, we circled the area watching for the arrival of the investigating party. The fuel capacity of the L-5 allowed us about an hour and a half of circling time before we would have to return to our base. After approximately an hour, I told my companion that I would continue for a few more minutes and if the British did not show then we would return to base. Before beginning the final manoeuvre, the plane began to lose power. It was not uncommon at an altitude of 5,000ft to pick up carburettor icing. I pulled full carburettor icing, but it did not improve the performance of the plane. At this point I knew that the only alternative was a forced landing.

'With what little power left, I set the aircraft in a glide to try and set down as close as possible to the B-25 crash scene. Unfortunately I did not get as close as I planned. The area was tall and heavy bamboo jungle. I pulled full flaps and cut what little power I had left. The forward motion luckily slowed enough to keep the plane from nosing into the side of the mountain.

'The crash left me considerably dazed. My first thoughts were to get out of the plane because of the possibility of fire. Instead of going out of the door on my right, I climbed, without really thinking, out of the left window. Although it was not really big enough, I somehow made it out anyway. Once safely out I rushed to the other door to check on my fellow pilot — Bill Walters. He was unconscious but came round in a few minutes. The first thing he said was that he thought his leg was broken. While lifting him out of the plane I could see that his diagnosis was correct. I then popped a parachute and made a pallet on the ground under the wing of the aircraft. After making him as comfortable as possible under the circumstances, I checked the radio. It was damaged beyond repair.

'I decided to take a closer look at the B-25 wreckage. Little was left of Wingate's plane. One wing and one strut were the only parts of any size. I walked in the direction that the small debris had been scattered. After going about 20ft I came upon the part of one corpse — the torso and one arm. It was a long time before it dawned on me how strange it was for these two parts to be still intact since they were so close to the wreckage and had not been burned. The site gave every indication of a very intense fire and a strong explosion. A short distance from the body remains lay a pith helmet. The damage to it was minimal. Such a helmet in Burma was a rarity, I knew that it had to be Wingate's. It was his trademark.

'Later in the afternoon, I thought I heard sounds coming from the B-25 wreckage which was located about 300 yards from our plane through the dense jungle. I told Walters that I was going to investigate. Although reluctant to be left alone because of his immobility, he consented. The steep climb convinced me that I had sustained several cuts and bruises during our forced landing. But they were soon forgotten as I neared the ledge where the B-25 wreckage lay. I could make out voices, I picked a hole in the cover to see who was making the noise. They were not British but natives called Nagas. I could see about 20 to 30 of them pilfering the wreckage. They would pick up an object, closely examine it, throw it down, and move on to another item. Since I was about 50 yards away I could not make out what they were inspecting. After several minutes of observation I returned, much to Walters' relief.'

In the event, the L-5 crash-landed some 300 yards away from the B-25 wreckage, the co-pilot, Sergeant Bill Walters, breaking a leg. The two crash sites were separated by thick jungle and both Samp and Barnes missed each other. In the end, Sergeant Walters was carried out of the jungle on a stretcher by natives as far as Oinamlong and then driven by Jeep to Silchar where he was flown to Hailakandi. The picture shows him being lifted into an ambulance on arrival being watched by Sergeant Samp in the vest with his back to the camera. The failure of Lloyd Samp to link up with Captain Barnes and his party at the site appears to be explained by the fact that the took off from Hailakandi at 0845 to fly east for approximately 50 miles. He would have begun to circle the crash site by about 0915. This would place the time of his crash-landing at approximately 0945. Barnes gives the time of his arrival at the site as 1100 hours when interviewed at the official inquiry but he changed this to 1130 hours in his written report. Assuming that making Walters comfortable took only some 30 minutes, Samp would have been inspecting the site by about 1000 hours, or perhaps a little later. The fact that Samp saw a pith helmet on the ground, which he says he knew could only belong to Wingate, and that John Barnes carried Wingate's helmet back to Hailakandi, proves that Samp was at the site first.

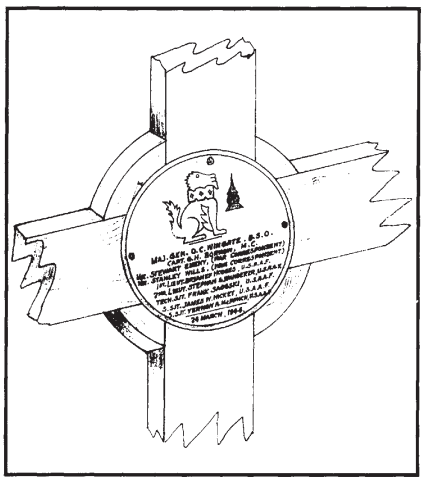
On his return, Captain Barnes reported that he had left instructions with the head man of the village to cover the body parts scattered across the clearing to avoid the spread of disease, and Sergeant Samp, looking back at the crash site, confirmed that he saw the natives gathering up the human remains in bamboo baskets and placing them in the eight-foot-deep crater. As soon as the news of Wingate's death reached the ears of Reverend Christopher Perowne *(left)*, the Deputy Assistant Chaplain General to Special Forces at 3rd Indian Division, the padre offered to go to the spot to hold a service. However, because of the risk of infiltration by the Japanese Inspired Indian Force (made up of Indian POWs captured in Malaya) instead, a memorial service *(above)* was held at Sylhet on Sunday, April 9, attended by Lord Louis Mountbatten, the theatre commander, and Major-General Walter Lentaigne, promoted commander of the Special Forces in Wingate's place. (IWM)

Just over three months later, Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Perowne, serving as chaplain with HQ 3rd Indian Division at Sylhet, mounted an expedition to the site of Wingate's crashed aircraft, taking with them a cross which had been made in the division's workshops. On July 6, after a march of four days, they reached a steep slope which had had the trees burnt off and was green with cultivation. At the centre bottom they could see a portion of the crashed plane shining brightly in the sunlight. Halfway down the hill was a basha which they took advantage of to have a welcome rest for a few minutes.

In the hut were a number of objects from the plane which included a glasses' case and a more or less intact boot. After their rest they descended to the bottom of the slope to find debris scattered within a few hundred yards radius of an enormous hole which still contained the largest pieces. There were still bits of clothing about the place, and some small bones.

Padre Perowne quickly selected a suitable site for the cross. This was to be placed at the edge of the impact crater and very near to the remains of the outer section of the port wing. The small collection of bone fragments which had been collected from the surrounding area was placed in the hole and covered over. The cross, which faced east, was positioned above these pathetic remains of nine men and surmounted with a circular bronze plaque which they had brought with them giving the names of those on the aircraft.

Three months later, Padre Perowne was able to set out on his long-delayed trip. Although his party was to follow the same route taken by Captain Barnes — from Sylhet to Silchar, Lakhipur, Oinamlong, Thilon — the difference was that it was now the wet season and the rains had started in earnest. And where Barnes had travelled light in a single Jeep, now there were to be two Jeeps, a 15-cwt truck and 12 mules. The tracks were treacherous, deep in mud, with many precipitous drops, and there were fast-flowing rivers and gorges to cross. Consequently, a journey that had taken Captain Barnes a day now took four days of fearsome toil. They left Sylhet on Sunday July 2, the most dangerous episode on the way to the Jiri river *(left)* being an encounter with two elephants — most Indian tuskers hating Jeeps! Then the truck had to be abandoned after getting bogged down at the bottom of a hill near Lakhipur. *Right:* The River Makru was crossed via this narrow suspension bridge which had developed a list so the Jeep bonnet was rubbing on the side. Most such bridges had been destroyed by the Japanese and they were reported to be advancing through the jungle to cut this one. From Oinamlong, the party had to proceed on foot, the mules being loaded with supplies including the specially-made cross to be erected at the crash site and cement to hold it in position. Every two hours, the party would halt to rest man and beast and burn off leeches. The Padre had also slipped and injured his leg which caused him considerable pain. Finally, on the morning of July 6, they reached the crash to find fragments of wreckage scattered over several hundred square yards. (IWM)



The teak cross, which had been specially made in the division's workshops at Sylhet, had already been prepared with an inscribed circular bronze plaque recording the names of the nine men.

A few fragments of bone were collected and buried at the edge of the crater and the cross erected above, set in rocks and concrete, facing east. Reverend Perowne then held a short service: the Consecration, the Memorial, prayers for all members of the Forces, their next-of-kin, the 23rd Psalm, some verses of Scripture, and a final prayer. Before they left, this photograph was taken, the only one of the gravesite which appears to exist today, now fading in Reverend Perowne's personal photo album. The return journey was a nightmare of constant rain along paths knee-deep in water and frequent attacks from leeches. The party finally reached base late on Sunday, July 9, the round trip of over 200 miles having taken a full week. (IWM)

In 1945, Lorna Wingate, Orde's widow, wrote to Winston Churchill asking him if her husband's body could be brought home from Burma. Churchill replied in the negative saying that such action would be against public policy, and that he must be buried at Imphal with his comrades-in-arms.

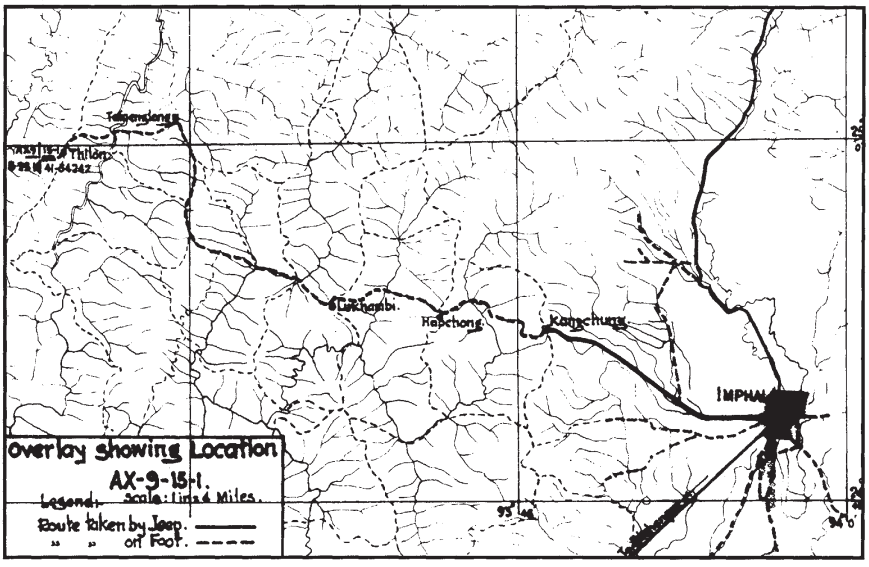
From what Churchill said, it seems evident that what we might describe as the Wingate group burial was not going to be allowed to remain within the vicinity of Thilon village and at some time in the future it would be moved to Imphal Military Cemetery, later renamed Imphal War Cemetery, located about one mile north of the town of Imphal, on the Kohima Road.

Meanwhile, the 63rd Graves Concentration Unit was carrying out its operations to the north of Chittagong which was then in East Bengal, later East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. Also operating in similar areas to the 63rd GCU were their American counterparts in the US Graves Registration Section. About the end of March 1947, a small party assembled at Imphal; this consisted of: Sergeant Thomas M. Kauppi and Sergeant Clarence E. Manby of the US GRS, with Major J. Scott and Captain E. Carew of the 63rd GCU. As recounted earlier, it was on April 1, 1947, at Shillong, exactly three years to the day from the official announcement of Wingate's death, that I was initially placed on a 48-hour stand-by to accompany this party to the crash site.

On March 30, the joint British-American recovery party set out from Imphal by Jeep and headed somewhat north of west on the track for Tamenglong some 60 miles away. At Tamenglong, there was a Sub-District Office and a rest hut, the track being 'Jeepable in dry weather' for about the first 15 miles. Kangchup was as far as they could travel by Jeep and the rest of the journey was to be undertaken on foot. This event is described in a letter dated July 3, 1947, from Calcutta to Washington: 'On 5th April 1947, a Search and Recovery Team consisting of two non-commissioned officers from American Graves Registration Service, India-Burma Zone, and two officers of the 63rd Graves Concentration Unit discovered in the jungle west of Imphal Manipur, the wreckage of a crashed B-25, No. 41-34242 *(sic)*. At the site there was a well-made cross carrying a bronze plaque upon which was written the names of the crew and passengers. From beneath this marker the team recovered approximately three (3) pounds of human bone fragments which were taken to Imphal and left in temporary storage at the 63rd GCU, pending decision as to their final interment.'

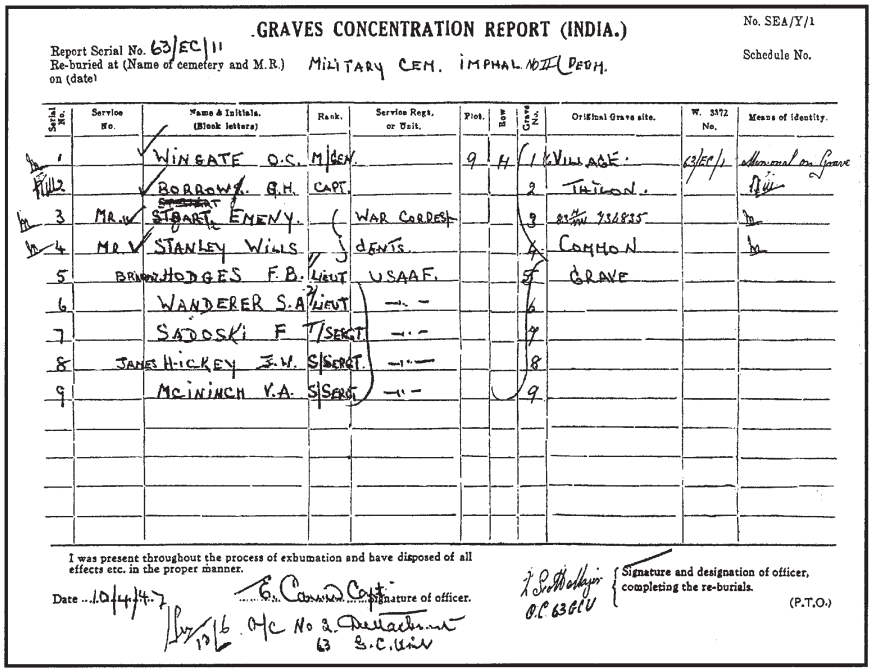
The 63rd Graves Concentration Unit lost no time in dealing with the remains exhumed from the burial conducted by Reverend Perowne in July 1944 and they were interred at Imphal in Row H, Plot 9, Collective Burial 1-9 on April 10, 1947.

However, Captain Barnes's account indicates that the body parts seen on March 26 were considerable and sufficiently intact for the doctor to estimate that several people had been on board the aircraft. Lloyd Samp did not leave the area until two days later and he says that he saw the natives gathering up human remains using baskets made of bamboo and placing them in the crater. This was up to eight feet deep in that part which contained no wreckage. These remains represented most of the body parts attributable to nine men and they have never been recovered.



After the war, graves concentration units — both British and American — continued their task of tracking down unofficial graves in remote areas and removing the remains for burial in the nearest military cemetery. In 1947, as recounted earlier, Dennis Hawley was serving with the Signals at Shillong, not 100 miles from the crash, when the 63rd Graves Concentration Unit was working the area. On April 1, Dennis was detailed as a radio operator to accompany a joint Anglo-American detail to exhume the remains from the Wingate burial although two days later he was told he would not be required as the latter part of the journey was in rough country through which a heavy radio truck could not pass. This plan from the US report shows the route from Imphal — much more arduous than that followed by Captain Barnes as the four-man party could only travel by Jeep as far as Kongchung — a distance of 15 miles. The remainder of the journey — another 56 miles — had to be covered on foot.

Led by Major John Scott of the 63rd Graves Concentration Unit, the four-man party left Imphal on March 30 and reached the crash site on April 5. The two American NCOs, Sergeant Thomas M. Kauppi and Sergeant Clarence E. Manby, who were experienced in the recovery of aircrash victims, assumed responsibility. A detailed list was compiled of the serial numbers and markings on various pieces of wreckage including six Browning machine guns and the large 75mm field gun with which B-25H's were fitted. There was nothing to identify any of the individuals aboard but sufficient supporting evidence to positively confirm that it was Wingate's aircraft. However, it was at this point that the whole purpose of the visit — to recover all the human remains — inexplicably failed. The US report states that 'we had with us the natives that made the burial. All fragments were found at a spot 3ft wide and 10ft long on a 30 degree slope buried at no more than 3 to 6 inches under the top soil. It is our belief that no grave was made, the bones merely placed in a pile. Several monsoons would have washed them down the slope a short way and covered them with soil.'



GRAVES CONCENTRATION REPORT (INDIA.)

No. SEA/Y/1

Report Serial No. 63/EC/11

Schedule No.

Re-buried at (Name of cemetery and M.R.) MILITARY CEM. IMPHAL. XXII (DEOH.

on (date)

Serial No.	Service No.	Name & Initials. (Block letters)	Rank.	Service Regt. or Unit.	Plot.	Row	Grave No.	Original Grave site.	W. 3372 No.	Means of identity.
1		WINGATE O.C.	MAJ GEN.		9	H	1	VILLAGE.	63/EC/1	Memorial on Grave
2		BORROW R.H.	CAPT.				2	TRITON.		
3		STUART, ENEMY	(WAR CORRESP				3	81st WS 42835		
4		STANLEY WILLS	) DENTS.				4	COMMON		
5		BROWN HODGES F.B.	LIEUT	USAAF.			5	GRAVE		
6		WANDERER S.A.	LIEUT	—"—			6			
7		SADOSKI F	T/SERGT	—"—			7			
8		JAMES HICKEY J.W.	S/SERGT.	—"—			8			
9		MCININCH V.A.	S/SERGT	—"—			9			

I was present throughout the process of exhumation and have disposed of all effects etc. in the proper manner.

Date 10/4/47

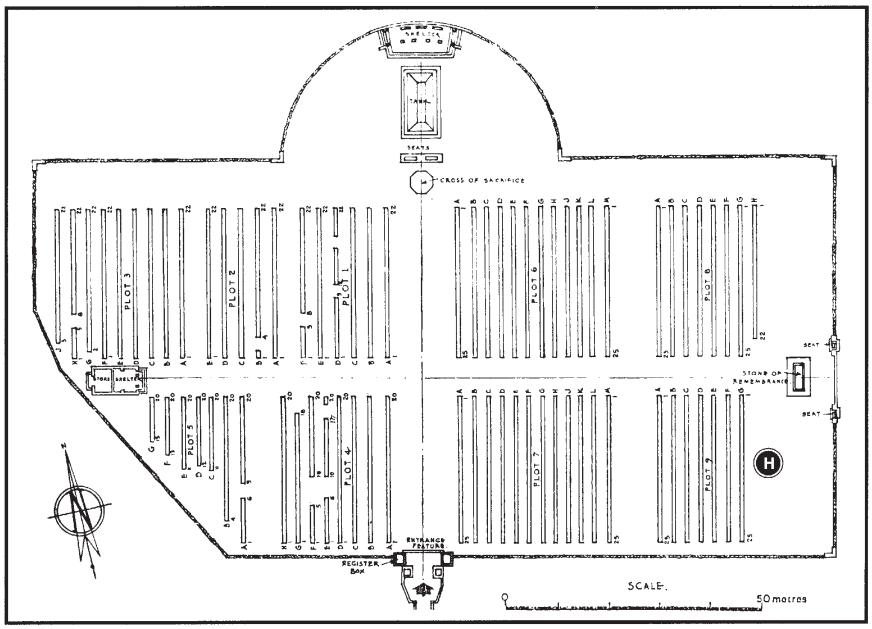
E. Command Capt. Signature of officer.

Pte/16 HQ No 3 Detachment 63 S.C.U.(I.V.)

J. S. Scott Major OC 63 GCU

Signature and designation of officer, completing the re-burials.

(P.T.O.)



The policy of the British and Commonwealth governments has always been that service personnel killed abroad were never to be repatriated to the United Kingdom but were to be buried in the nearest military cemetery. However, in 1946, the United States Government passed Public Law 383 which authorised repatriation to the USA of American service personnel killed overseas. Thus the policy of the two Allies was at complete variance. An American policy memorandum dated April 11, 1946, had already been sent by the Quartermaster General, Memorial Division, Washington DC, to the Foreign Office in London. It stated (in part) that 'in the event that [a] group burial includes both American and Allied deceased . . . if the Allied deceased cannot be segregated, the Allied Government(s) concerned will be asked whether or not they would interpose any objection to the shipment of the group to the United States. If no objection is forthcoming, all the remains in the group will be returned to the United States for final burial in a National Cemetery. If there is objection to such removal, the remains of all the group will be finally interred in a permanent overseas American Cemetery.'

One would have thought that, with such an important mission, Major Scott would have been provided with a copy of Captain Barnes's 1944 report detailing the burial of the bodies by the natives or, if the tribesmen were in fact the same ones, that they might have pointed out the main burial site in the crater. As it was, all the unit recovered were 20 pieces of bone, weighing about 3lbs, presumably the same ones which Reverend Perowne had buried beneath the cross. *Left:* **These were buried in a rubber bag in Row H of Plot 9 at Imphal War Cemetery** *(centre)* **on April 10. This picture shows the cemetery with its temporary wooden crosses about 1949.** *Right:* **Work to transform it into a permanent war cemetery began in 1952, being completed in 1955 with recumbant headstones as is the policy of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission in areas prone to volcanic activity or adverse climatic conditions. Plot 9 is to the immediate right of the Stone of Remembrance.**

REPORT OF INTERMENT ORIGINAL NOV 20 1950

TO: THE QUARTERMASTER GENERAL WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

NAME (Last, First, Middle Initial): WINGATE, O. C. DSO & 2 Bars

RANK: Maj. Gen. ORDE CHARLES

STATE

SERIAL NUMBER

☐ WW I ☐ OTHER (Specify) ☒ WW II

NAME OF CEMETERY: ARLINGTON NATIONAL

EMBLEM (Check one): ☒ CHRISTIAN ☐ HEBREW ☐ OTHER (Specify)

SERVICE DATA (Company, Regiment, Division, or other organization, and basic arm of service): Royal Artillery Allied British

DATE OF BIRTH			DATE OF DEATH			DATE OF INTERMENT			GRAVE LOC.	
MONTH	DAY	YEAR	MONTH	DAY	YEAR	MONTH	DAY	YEAR	SEC. OR PLOT	GRAVE OR LOT NO.
Age	4	1	3	24	44	Nov.	10	1950	12	288

DATES OF SERVICE			
ENLISTMENT	DISCHARGE	DIED ON A. D.	RETIREMENT

REMARKS (Authority for interment, pension, or claim number, disinterment, etc.)

Remains were returned under WWII Dead Program and are buried in the common grave with(see list attached to QMC Form 14 for HODGES, Brian F. 1/Lt. to whose QMC Form 14 the list is attached.)

HEADSTONE OR MARKER ORDERED: GREEN MOUNTAIN, VT. 6- MAY 1951 7934778

NAME AND ADDRESS OF NEXT OF KIN OR OTHER RESPONSIBLE PERSON

SHIPPING POINT FOR HEADSTONE

NEAREST FREIGHT STATION: ROSSLYN, VA.

SIGNATURE OF SUPERINTENDENT OF NATIONAL CEMETERY, OR TRANSPORTATION OFFICER, OR QM OF POST CEMETERY

R. O. WILLIAMSON Colonel, U.S. Army Officer in Charge

POST OFFICE ADDRESS: C I 9

QMC FORM 14 REV 1 JUL 50 PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF THIS FORM ARE OBSOLETE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON REVERSE SIDE

A report on the exhumation was forwarded by the American Graves Registration Service for the India-Burma Zone to the Memorial Division in Washington: 'The British Army in India referred the question of final burial of the group to their headquarters in London with a request for confirmation of their decision for final burial in the British Military Cemetery in Imphal. It is the opinion of the War Department that in view of the fact that the plane was an American military plane with a United States Army Air Force crew on a scheduled flight in which the British officers and War Correspondents were merely passengers, the remains of the group should be removed for final interment in a United States military cemetery overseas, preferably at Manila or Guam. This is particularly desirable as the British Government will no longer exercise control of the area in which the cemetery at Imphal is located [reference to the impending British withdrawal from India].' Thus began a behind-the-scenes wrangle between the British and American governments which each had entirely opposing policies concerning the disposition of servicemen killed in war. On the one hand, ever since 1916, Britain had enshrined the principal that her war dead should be interred in perpetuity on the field of battle — in the original graves wherever possible — whereas the United States implemented Public Law 383 in 1946 which authorised the repatriation of remains to the USA should the next of kin so desire. Agreement was reached between the two allies in 1948 that in the case of air crashes, where the individuals could not be separately identified, the US would have the right to claim the remains if American crewmen predominated. Although this was the case with the Wingate crash (five American to four Britains), the Imperial War Graves Commission asked that as a British General was on board, a special case be made in this instance. However, the British government acquiesced to the American demand on March 4, 1949, and the small bag of bones was exhumed from Imphal on December 18 that year and sent to the Philippines pending final disposition. *Right:* **The empty Row H at Imphal today.**

In 1948, referring to the Wingate group burial in Imphal Military Cemetery, the US Department of the Army told the British War Office that 'In the case of the group burial which includes the remains of the late Major-General Wingate, we feel that the same procedure as that followed in other groups should govern. It is appreciated that General Wingate's operations in Northern Burma were of great historical significance, but we believe the American next-of-kin would be unjustly discriminated against by any such exception.'

On September 30, 1949, the US Embassy in London acknowledged to the British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the agreement concerning the impending exhumation of the Imphal burial of Orde Wingate and eight others. The acknowledgement also confirmed that the American Graves Registration Service in Manila had been instructed to contact Imperial War Graves Commission in New Delhi, with respect to the disposition of the remains. It was further stated that if segregation and separate identification of British remains was possible, such remains would not be removed from Imphal.

On December 18, 1949, the grave was opened by the United States Army and the contents transferred to Manila in the Philippines pending final disposition. This came on July 19, 1950, in a letter from the Memorial Division, Office of the Quartermaster General, US Army, to the Officer in Charge, Arlington National Cemetery, Fort Meyer, Virginia, advising that Arlington had been designated as the final burial place of the Wingate group. The burial at Arlington in Grave 288 of Section 12, was carried out later that year. On November 10, few British officers were present at what was almost entirely an American event. Amongst them were the British Military Attaché and a representative of the Embassy staff.

In a letter dated July 19, 1950, the Memorial Division of the Office of the Quartermaster General advised the authorities at the Arlington National Cemetery that it had been chosen as the final resting place for the group burial. While the Americans informed their next-of-kin of the arrangements and sent out invitations to attend the reburial, the British authorities deliberately refrained from doing likewise, the Imperial War Graves Commission agreeing with the Foreign Office that 'we do not propose to make an exception in this case thus giving the relatives of the four British dead concerned the opportunity, denied to others, of attending the reburial service'. In fact, Mrs Wingate was only informed that her husband had been exhumed and sent to the United States for burial on the very day — November 10, 1950 — that the interment at Arlington was taking place. The Americans officially notified the four British next-of-kin of the fait accompli seven days later. Mrs Marie McInnch, mother of the flight engineer, took this picture — little could anyone have then realised that the huge casket contained only a small bag of bones.

Following American tradition, Mrs McInnch is presented with one of the five US flags which covered the casket. No Union Jacks were present at the ceremony and few British officers attended, neither was the British National Anthem played. It was therefore only to be expected that a furore broke out when the news reached Britain, summed up by the renowned *Daily Mirror* columnist, Cassandra: 'Surely in the records of official callousness or on the botched scrolls of abysmal inefficiency there are few blunders to surpass this performance with its appalling affront to the families of the dead men.'

Mrs Wingate was only informed of the reburial on the very day it was taking place. She being too distressed to say anything, it was left to the General's sister, Miss Rachel Wingate, to write to Churchill, now Leader of the Opposition:

'Five years ago my sister-in-law asked you whether she might have my brother Orde Wingate's body brought home from Burma, you replied No, that would be contrary to public policy, he must be buried at Imphal with his comrades-in-arms. I may add that his brothers and sisters entirely agreed with this.

'I am informed this morning that his body, together with those of his ADC, Capt. George Borrow, MC, and two English newspapers' correspondents are to be buried today at Arlington Cemetery, USA, because it was not found possible to distinguish their remains from those of the American crew of five who were flying the Major-General at the time of the crash.

'That Orde's grave should be in Burma seemed to us fitting. . . . That the Americans should be permitted to dig it up . . . to include it for use in tributes to American flyers we strongly resent. If they had taken half the bones and buried them as American dead then that might have been permissible, though it would be more reverent to leave them alone. But to have British names put up in an American military cemetery to grace an American triumph because the Americans care where their dead lie is abominable. . . . If an American General, say Patton, had been killed in a plane flown by a British crew, would the Americans ever have allowed his body to be transported to Britain to be put into an RAF cemetery? They have more sense of the effect of such behaviour on the minds of common men.'

In 1975, at the request of the British Embassy, a new upright headstone was erected by the US authorities at their expense on Collective Grave 288 in Section 12. The service of rededication was held on February 27, 1975.

For 25 years, the Arlington grave was marked with this simple, flat gravestone.

Reverend Luther Miller of St David's Church, Macum Street, where the annual Commonwealth Remembrance Day Service in Washington is held, officiated: 'We are holding this simple service to rededicate this beautiful new gravestone before us. General Wingate's widow, in approving the design of the elegant new headstone, which the Cemetery authorities have so wonderfully provided, wrote that "in death all men are equal". In the context of World War II, they loved liberty, and loathed tyranny and oppression, even though, like many fighting men, they may not have been consciously aware of such high ideals all the time. Nevertheless their sacrifice should remind us that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance, and in remembering these men from both our great countries, the best spiritual memorial to them would be for us never to forget the implication of this message.' *Right:* Captain Jonathan Wingate, son of the late General, lays the first wreath on behalf of the family.

The final irony results from the American-inspired recovery expedition of April 1947 for, as we have seen, their assumption that what they exhumed in the jungle was a complete burial was in error. Had they made more careful enquiries in their own country they would have discovered this quite easily; further, they would have had accurate information which would have enabled them to locate all the available remains, which were considerable, which had been seen at the site of the crash on March 26-28, 1944. The remains that were seen between these two dates was sufficient to make up five complete bodies. There was also enough other remains, to enable a medical officer to estimate that all those on board had perished in the plane crash. This was not checked by the US authorities; consequently, the burial at Arlington is incomplete.

After 45 years, I have indeed been extremely fortunate to ascertain the precise location of the remains of those nine occupants of the crashed plane who are not in the burial at Arlington. Even after all these years there will be no difficulty in identifying the burial area and since the remains of nine men are buried at a depth of some six feet there is no way that they could have disappeared during the years which followed.

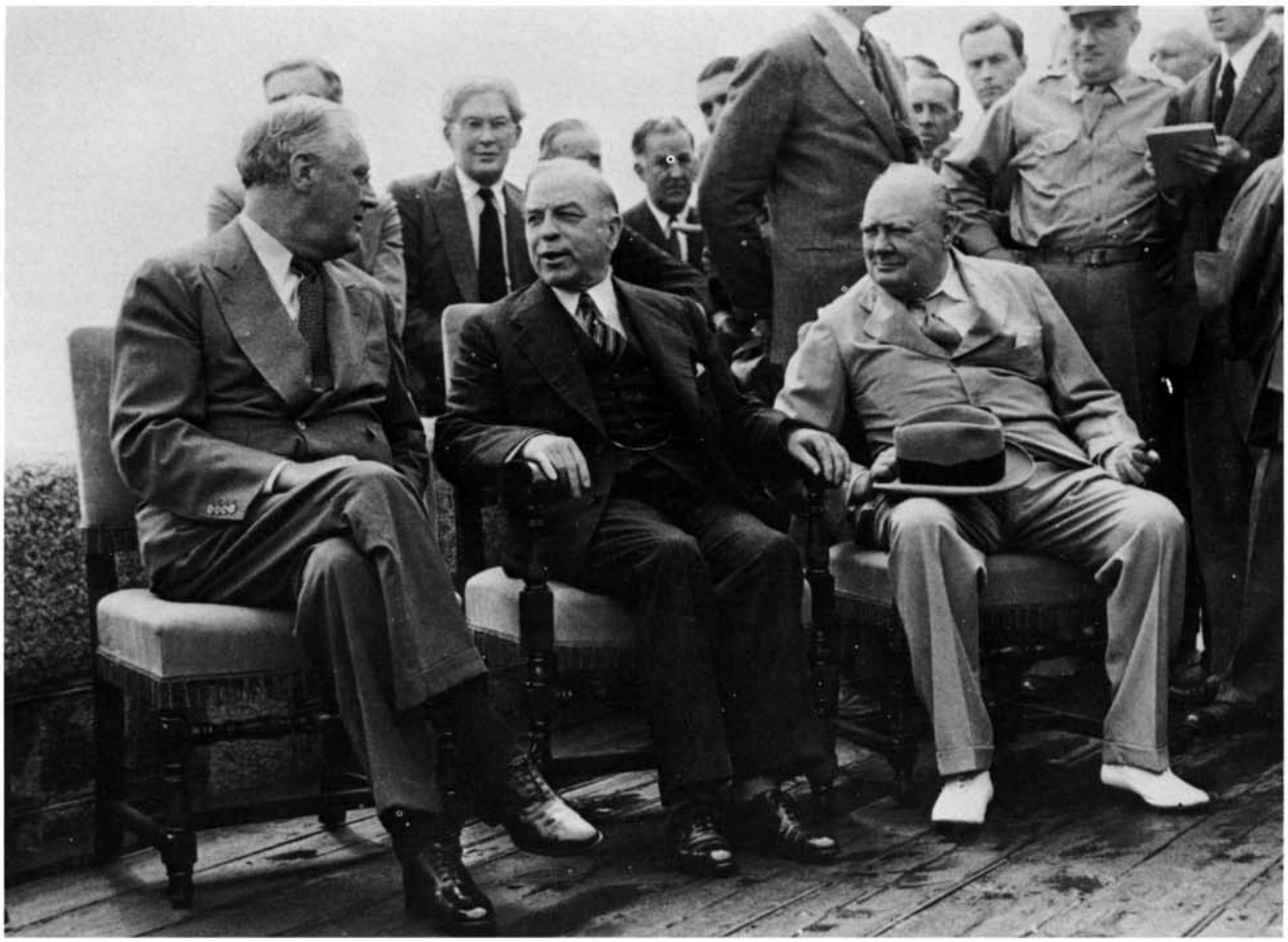
As the Americans consistently refuse to complete the task of recovery, perhaps it is best that things are left as they are as the Wingate family can rest in the sure knowledge that the General *does* indeed still lie in the land where he fought . . . and died.

Copies of The Death of Wingate *by Dennis Hawley are available direct from the author at Yew Tree Cottage, Slaithwaite, Huddersfield, HD7 5UD, price £15.95 (post free in the UK).*

And still there was one further tragedy, indirectly connected with the crash. At the time, India was still governed by the British and the wilder parts administered by Sub District Officers. The resident officer at Tamenglong (just a few miles east of Thilon) was Mr M. E. Young and Major Scott's 1947 exhumation team learned that he had been responsible for giving instructions for the collection and burial of the bodies. When they called at his bungalow *(right)* to see him they were told by the present SDO that Mr Young had retained some personal effects but that they could no longer be found as he had committed suicide a few days after the crash, believing that he was surrounded and about to be captured by the Japanese. *Below:* This was all that remained to mark Mr Young's grave when the Reverend Lolly made his pilgrimage to Thilon in 1991.

So what now remains? In 1947, Major Scott's team also visited the spot where Sergeant Lloyd Samp's L-5 had crashed but the wreckage had already been pilfered by natives and all that remained were light sections of metal wing bracing and a six-cylinder, in-line engine. Parts of the B-25 were also found in the possession of local villagers at Thilon. The plaque on the teak cross was recovered by Major Scott and was subsequently claimed by the Americans in a letter from the US Embassy in London to the British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin. As Dennis Hawley comments in his book *The Death of Wingate,* 'it is difficult to understand how the United States authorities could think that it had any real claim to the plaque'. Although Dennis feels that it should have ended up in the Imperial War Museum in London, it was subsequently loaned to the Wingate family by the Imperial War Graves Commission in January 1953 pending a suitable last resting place.

Then, in May 1989, a patrol from 'F' Company of the 30th Assam Rifles led by Major A. K. Datta, set out from Imphal on a combined pilgrimage-cum-training march to the crash site, a distance of some 57 miles. Although a new all-weather track now exists from Tamenglong to Thilon, they followed the original route taken by Major Scott (see map page 8). At the crash site, they found the crater considerably overgrown but still containing the mangled nose section of the aircraft. The area was cleared of vegetation and, after considerable effort, the patrol were able to retrieve the 75mm cannon and the radial part of one of the engines. *Left:* **The cannon and engine were then carried shoulder high back via Thilon to Tamenglong, a distance of 17 miles, demonstrating resourcefulness and tremendous stamina in negotiating the difficult terrain. The patrol finally reached Imphal on September 16. The trophies were then taken to the Assam Rifles HQ at Shillong where they were temporarily set up on the lawn of the Officers' Club** *(above right). Below:* **Subsequently, the Assam Rifles had the cannon and engine mounted in a permanent memorial as a fitting tribute.** *Right:* **When the Reverend Lolly retraced the 1947 route again in 1991, he discovered the nosewheel assembly lying in Thilon village although there was no trace of the wheel itself. Dennis Hawley has spent seven years of his life researching Wingate's death, his findings now encompassed in his incredibly detailed book of which this article is but a brief extract. In October 1988, he sent the US authorities evidence that the bulk of the remains of the nine men still remained buried at the crash site, with a direct appeal that they should be recovered 'as I don't think the burial at Arlington containing only 3lbs of small bones is very representative'. Six months later, he received a reply: [Your research] does not however prove the presence of recoverable remains some 45 years after the incident . . . the Army cannot adopt a practice of excavating areas in a speculative venture . . . the Army cannot, in good conscience, re-open this case and expend resources in the hope that the remains might be found.'**



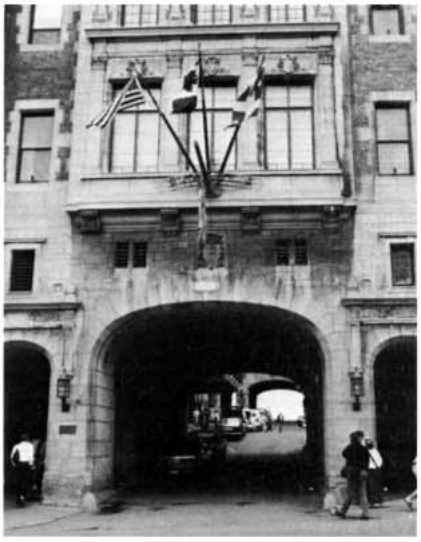
THE QUEBEC CONFERENCES

By Robert Burrows

After the 'Trident' conference held in Washington in May 1943, there still remained outstanding difficulties between the two Western Allies regarding the strategy of the war, and the future planning during the post-war period. Therefore, Churchill proposed that another Anglo-American conference be held. It was Roosevelt who suggested Quebec and, for reasons of security, both Churchill, Roosevelt, and later the Canadian Prime Minister MacKenzie King, were to stay at the Citadel: the residence of the Governor General, the Earl of Athlone.

The Citadel was a fortress covering some 37 acres overlooking the city of Quebec with the St Lawrence river on its southern side. Built in the shape of a polygon with each point forming a bastion, its construction had begun in May 1820 — some 60 years after the city had been captured by the British from the French in a battle which lasted all of 20 minutes — under the supervision of Lieutenant-Colonel E. W. Durnford, and it was completed some ten years later.

Top: **The Canadian Prime Minister, W. L. Mackenzie King (centre) was the host to President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill at the 'Quadrant' conference held in Canada in August 1943.** *Left:* **Churchill arrived in Quebec on Tuesday, August 10, and is seen here outside the entrance to the Château Frontenac, a huge hotel erected by Canadian Pacific Railways, which was taken over for the British, Canadian and American delegations. (PAC/IWM)**



The massive bulk of the Château Frontenac dominates the Quebec skyline, its turreted features giving it the appearance of a mediaeval fortress, its entrances *(right)* sealed by armed guards from the Canadian Army while Royal Marines and officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and FBI patrolled within. In 1943, the National Film Board of Canada produced a souvenir booklet which they called *Planning Victory*: 'Wednesday, August 11. Crowds of expectant Quebecois gather at the gates of the Château Frontenac, standing hours in blustery weather to catch a glimpse of the British Prime Minister. Within the hotel preliminary conferences have begun between British and Canadian chiefs-of-staff. Admiral Sir Dudley Pound, First Lord of the Admiralty, is conferring with Vice-Admiral Percy W. Nelles, Canadian Chief of Naval Staff; General Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, with Lieutenant-General Kenneth Stuart, Chief-of-Staff, Canadian Army, and Air Marshal Sir Charles Portal, British Chief of Air Staff with Air Marshal L. S. Breadner, Canadian Chief of Air Staff. There are general conferences, too, with Lord Louis Mountbatten, chief of Combined Operations, Field-Marshal Sir John Dill, head of the Joint Mission in Washington, and General Sir Hastings Ismay, Chief-of-Staff to the British Minister of Defence, in leading roles. War leaders of Britain and Canada are planning the campaigns which lie ahead on the road to victory.'

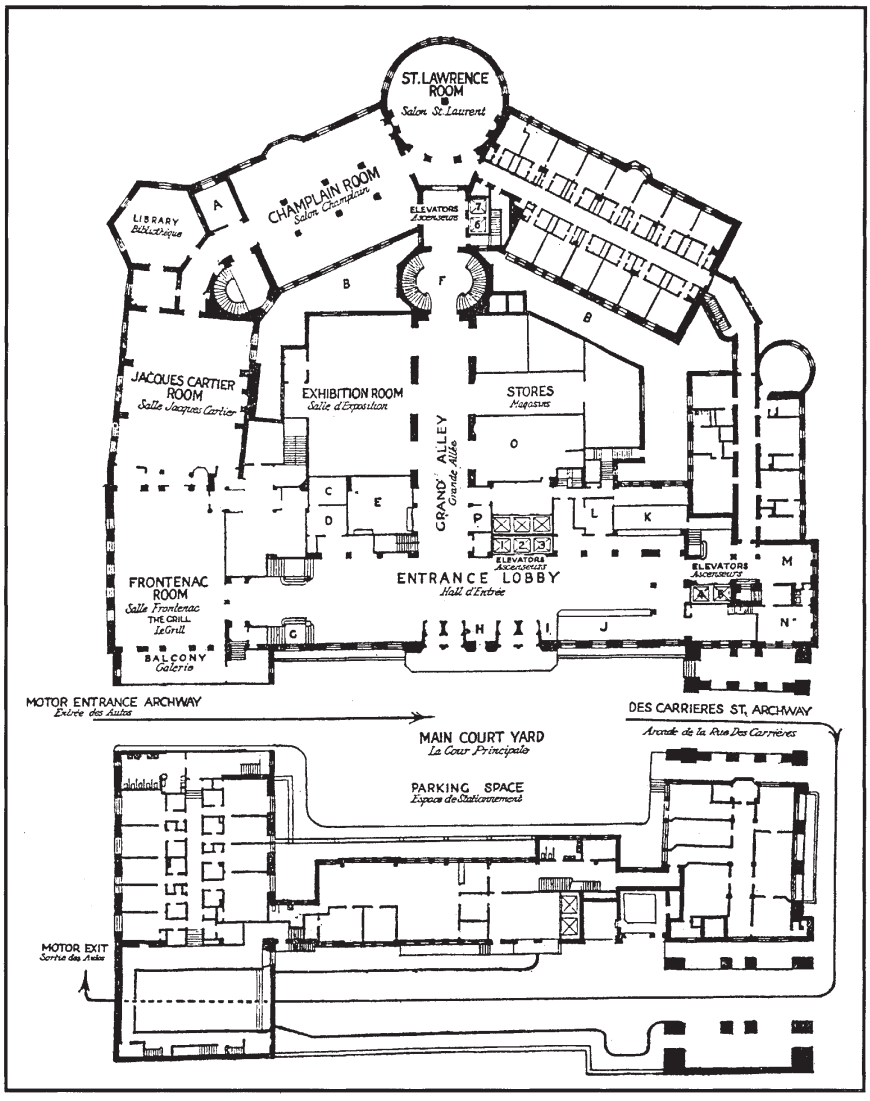
The only hotel that could accommodate all the personnel involved for the conference was the Château Frontenac but there were over 800 guests staying there at the time, all of whom had to vacate their rooms. The exodus was completed by August 6 and within two days the premises had been made ready to receive the nearly 700 personnel of the countries involved in the conference.

Security was carried out by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Provost Corps and the Royal Marines. Anti-aircraft guns were installed along Dufferin Terrace and on the other side of the St Lawrence river in the town of Levi. A squadron of Spitfires stood ready at nearby Ancienne Lorette Airport. Everyone attending the conference was issued with a pass: pink for general admittance to the hotel; salmon for the newsmen, and blue for access to the third floor where the conference was situated. Installed on the third floor was a switchboard, which could handle calls to Washington, London and Ottawa.

The American delegates were assigned to the even numbered floors from the sixteenth down, the British to the odd-numbered floors from the thirteenth down, the fourth being reserved for the Canadian Government officials.

Apart from the Frontenac, two other hotels were used by the Government, these were the Clarendon and the St Louis where press correspondents, radio men and photographers were accommodated. The coffee shop in the Frontenac was used for press conferences, the censors' office, and wire facilities and desks were installed for officials of the British Ministry of Information, the American Office of War Information and the Canadian War Information Board.

The hotel has over 600 bedrooms, all of which were taken over for the six-day conference and likewise again for the second Quebec conference, code-named 'Octagon' held the following September. President Roosevelt did not arrive in Quebec until Tuesday, August 17 at which point 'Quadrant' could begin.



Although the main delegates were accommodated in the Château Frontenac, seen here on the left [1], for security reasons, Roosevelt and Churchill were given separate quarters in the Governor General's residence within the Citadel [2]. This was the sixth time that the two leaders had met since their first historic meeting aboard ship off Newfoundland in August 1941, an occasion best remembered for the signing of the 'Atlantic Charter' which pledged eight agreed principles between Britain and America — all the more astonishing because the United States was then still technically neutral. This first conference was code-named 'Riviera' and was followed by 'Arcadia' held in Washington in December 1941 soon after America entered the war. Running on into January 1942, 'Arcadia' is quoted as the first formal meeting between the two leaders and their chiefs-of-staff, the main outcome being the establishment of the joint Anglo-American Combined Chiefs-of-Staff. Subsequent conferences were 'Symbol' at Casablanca in January 1943; 'Trident' in Washington in May 1943; 'Quadrant' in Quebec in August 1943; and 'Sextant' in November 1943 in Cairo. The first conference between Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union took place in Teheran in November-December 1943, code-named 'Eureka'. The second Quebec conference 'Octagon' was held in September 1944 followed by 'Tolstoy' in Moscow between Churchill and Stalin in October 1944; 'Argonaut' at Yalta between the Three in January 1945, and, finally, 'Terminal' at Potsdam (Berlin) in July 1945. (Musée du Royal 22e Régiment)

THE 'QUADRANT' CONFERENCE, AUGUST 19-24, 1943

On Tuesday, August 10, Winston Churchill arrived in Quebec with his wife and daughter and the following day he held preliminary talks with the Canadian Chief-of-Staff at the Château. President Roosevelt arrived on the 17th at which point the conference finally began.

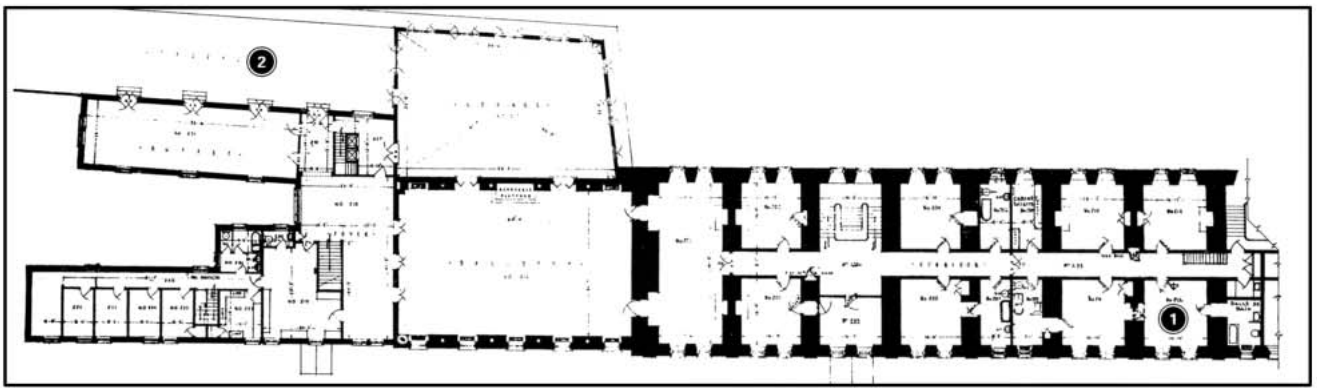
The Mediterranean Campaign

At the Trident conference in May, the British had hoped to obtain final approval for the invasion of Sicily and the Balkans but Roosevelt was firmly determined not to have any diversions to prevent a cross-Channel invasion in 1944. Churchill feared that a direct move into France would cost casualties that Britain could not afford and because of this the Americans believed the British to be insincere regarding the invasion of Europe.

On the 14th and 15th, before the arrival of Roosevelt the Combined Chiefs-of-Staff had already addressed this problem and, after much discussion on the 17th, the British reluctantly gave way, and the Combined Chiefs agreed that 'as between the operation "Overlord" and operations in the Mediterranean, when there is a shortage of resources "Overlord" will have an overriding priority'.

Operation 'Overlord'

The first plenary session was held on August 19. The British wanted Sir Alan Brooke, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, to hold the common command but US Secretary of War Henry L. Stimpson said in a memorandum to Roosevelt 'we cannot now rationally hope to be able to cross the Channel and come to grips with our German enemy under a British Commander'. He went on to say that the 'Prime Minister and his Chief of the Imperial Staff are frankly at variance with such a proposal. The shadows of Passchendaele and Dunquerque still hang too heavily over the imagination of these leaders of his government. Though they have rendered lip service to the operation, their hearts are not in it and it will require more independence, more faith, and more vigour than it is reasonable to expect we can find in



Plan of the first floor (US and Canadian second) of the Governor-General's residence. President Roosevelt used Room 213 [1] and the conference room is [2]. Unfortunately, an electrical fire broke out below it on the ground floor (US and Canadian first) on February 2, 1976 which destroyed a major part of the building. (PAC)

Left: **Constable MacKay, Lance Corporal Emerson and Constable MacDonald guard the entrance.** *Right:* **Mrs Churchill with the Prime Minister, King, and daughter Mary. (PAC)** *Below:* **Today, the covered porchway has been demolished.**

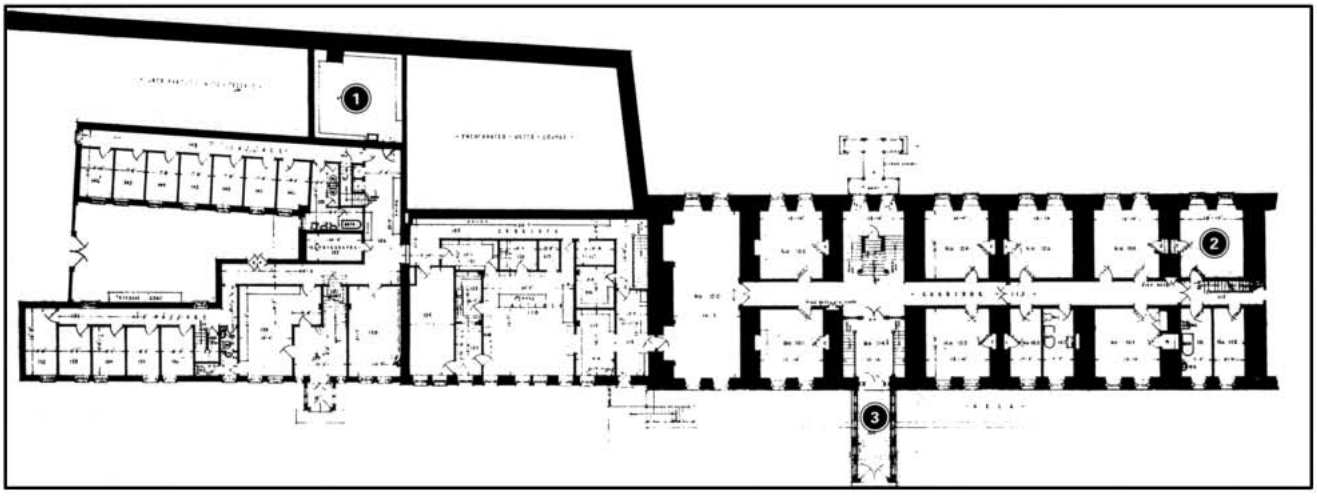
any British Commander.' Stimpson also argued that, since two-thirds of the forces in the enterprise were to be American, it was logical that an American should command them. Churchill agreed with this last argument. Brooke was dropped in favour of Marshall, who, in turn, was replaced by Eisenhower. (See *D-Day Then and Now*, Volume 1.)

A final report by the Combined Chiefs-of-Staff agreed that as regards to Operation 'Overlord':

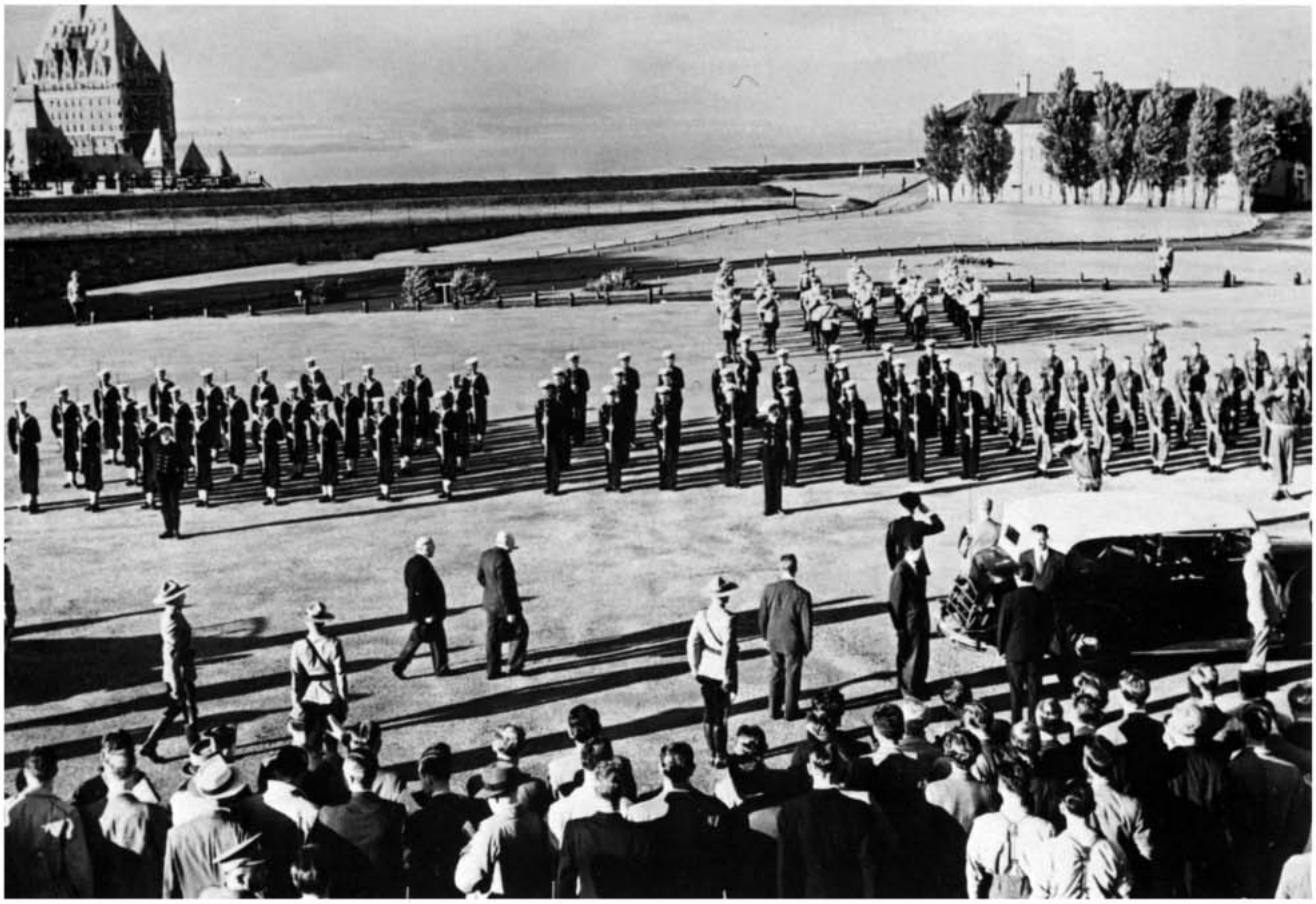
1. This Operation will be the primary United States-British ground and air effort against the Axis in Europe. Target date 1st May 1944. After seizing adequate Channel ports, exploration will be directed towards securing areas that will facilitate both ground and air operations against the enemy. Following the establishment of strong Allied forces, operations designed to strike at the heart of Germany and to destroy her military forces will be undertaken.
2. There will be a balanced ground and air force build-up for 'Overlord' and continuous planning for and maintenance of those forces available in the United Kingdom in readiness to take advantage of any situation permitting an opportunistic cross-Channel move into France.
3. As between Operation 'Overlord' and operations in the Mediterranean, where there is a shortage of resources available, resources will be distributed and employed with the main object of ensuring the success of 'Overlord'. Operations in the Mediterranean theatre will be carried out with the forces allotted at 'Trident' except in so far these may be varied by decision of the Combined Chiefs-of-Staff.

The Far East

The main dispute between the British and American Chief-of-Staff was the issue that Britain demanded a full and fair place in the war against Japan after the collapse of Germany. Though no decision was reached on the actual operations to be undertaken, it was decided that the main effort should be put into offensive operations with the object of establishing land communications with China and improving and securing the air route. Lord Louis Mountbatten was chosen as Supreme Commander in South-East Asia.



The ground floor: the fire started at [1], Churchill's room being [2]. The covered porch is [3].



A display was mounted by Canada's servicemen and women on the evening of Monday, August 16. Here, King and Churchill can be seen walking towards Roosevelt's saloon. According to Mike Reilly, head of the President's Secret Service bodyguard detail, it was not until 1940 that Roosevelt's disability was revealed by a magazine breaking the Press's self-imposed censorship over the helplessness of the American President. 'The business of transferring the President into a car was usually pretty simple,' wrote Reilly, 'despite his 180 pounds and his complete inability to use his legs. He depended entirely upon his hands, arms and shoulders. Usually, he'd turn his back to the automobile and one of the Detail would lift him. He'd reach backward until his hands secured a firm grip on each side of the car door and then he'd actually surge out of your arms into the car and on to the jump seat. Then he'd reach back once more and pull himself from the jump seat to the rear seat of the car. He did this with such speed and grace that literally thousands who had seen him at ball games, rallies, and inaugurations never suspected his condition.' (PAC)

The Quebec Agreement

During the conference, Roosevelt and Churchill talked about 'Tube Alloys', the code-name given to the atomic bomb project. The American scientific advisors opposed an exchange of information with Britain, as they felt they would be giving away energy production secrets that would be valuable after the war. It was explained to the Americans that Britain cared nothing about post-war profit-making industries, but was concerned for war purposes. Both Allies knew that the Germans and the Soviets were already working on the bomb. Therefore, at the conference, Roosevelt and Churchill signed the Quebec Agreement, regulating the procedure for inter-Allied co-operation in scientific research and industrial development which was to result in the production of the atomic bomb. It was agreed at the conference that (1) they would never use the bomb against each other; (2) that they would not use it against third parties without each other's consent, and (3) that they would not communicate any information about 'Tube Alloys' to third parties, except by mutual consent.

Other Matters

The French Committee of Liberation was recognised as the trustee of France until the French should be free to choose their own form of government. On August 24, a final press conference was held between the President and Churchill and the press at the Citadel at 12.30 p.m. signalling the end of the 'Quadrant' conference.

THE 'OCTAGON' CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 12–16, 1944

The second Quebec conference, code-named 'Octagon', accommodated in the same building as the earlier conference, was to resolve strategy in the Pacific and post-war settlements. However, the American Chief-of-Staff saw no real point in the meetings as most of the decisions had already been made, yet there were two important political problems which were to make the conference significant. The first was Churchill's concern to obtain strong lend-lease commitments to cover the period from VE-Day to the surrender of Japan, the second was on policy for the Far East.

Lend-lease

A lend-lease arrangement was not too difficult to work out. Although Roosevelt wanted it to be generous enough to guarantee a strong post-war Britain, nevertheless he did not want it to enable the British to make inroads on American markets.

The 'Quadrant' conference was a milestone in that it determined Anglo-American strategy for the future prosecution of the war against Germany and Japan. It also fixed a deadline for the cross-Channel invasion in 1944.

Inspector Bill Thompson, Churchill's bodyguard: 'When it was all over, photographs of the principals and chiefs-of-staff were taken on the roof of the Citadel, overlooking the St Lawrence. Fifty photographers and Pressmen attended. There was not much room and they jockeyed each other to obtain the best positions. The situation was a little unruly. Suddenly one of the USA Secret Servicemen, a broad-shouldered 6 foot 3 inch giant, threatened to throw over the parapet into the St Lawrence the first Pressman who crossed a line indicated by him. This threat had the desired effect.' There were several formal group photographs, this one featuring in the back row (L-R): General H. 'Hap' Arnold, Chief of US Air Forces; Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal, Chief of the Air Staff; General Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff; Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, Chief of US Naval Forces; Field-Marshal Sir John Dill, Chief of the Joint Staff Mission in Washington; General George C. Marshall, Chief-of-Staff of the US Army; Admiral of the Fleet Sir Dudley Pound, First Sea Lord, and Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief-of-Staff to the President. (PAC)

The Morgenthau Project

This was the prime object on Roosevelt's mind during the 'Octagon' conference. The Morgenthau plan was named after its author, the US Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau Jr. It called for German factories to be dismantled, mines flooded, raw materials cut off and the people to live by subsistence farming. This plan did have its critics, namely Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Secretary of War Stimpson. Even Churchill was said to be against the plan and it was Lord Cherwell, the British Scientific Advisor, who persuaded the Prime Minister to accept a softened version. Cherwell wanted to deprive Germany of its capacity to produce steel on a large scale, the manufacture of some types of chemicals and the elimination of electrical goods and production of all weapons of war, which he said would save Britain from bankruptcy by eliminating a dangerous competitor.

Churchill promised Roosevelt and Morgenthau that he would look at the plan and on September 15 he signified his agreement. It was only later that the Treasury advised Churchill that if German productivity were completely destroyed, she would no longer be able to pay for her imports and Britain would therefore lose an important market once peace came. There was also said to be a Cabinet split regarding the plan.

In October, the Morgenthau plans were leaked, German radio proclaiming that Morgenthau 'wants to see 43,000,000 Germans exterminated'. At a press conference Roosevelt announced that the plan had been abandoned.

On October 15, an agreement was made between the British and Americans regarding their future occupation of Germany. It was felt it was too early as yet to provide for a French Zone in Germany, and there was no mention of the Soviet Union.

The Far East

Churchill wanted to stage an amphibious assault across the Bay of Bengal on Rangoon and from there down towards Sumatra. However, this would divert men and materials from Europe destined for the invasion of Europe. There were also discussions about putting a Royal Navy formation under the command of the American Pacific Fleet, a proposal which was accepted by the Americans on September 14. These plans were to take place once Germany had been defeated. It was agreed that the primary task for Mountbatten was the recapture of all Burma, but the operations were not to prejudice the security of the existing air supply route to China. The Combined Chiefs-of-Staff attached the greatest importance to the vigorous prosecution of Operation 'Capital' (the plan for advance into central Burma from the north) and to the execution of Operation 'Dracula' (the proposal to recapture Rangoon from the sea) before the monsoon in 1945 with a target date of March 15.

As with the first conference, a final press conference for 'Octagon' was held in the Citadel on September 16.

The photo-shoot took place on Wednesday, August 18 but the conferences continued for another four days until August 24, Churchill making a final broadcast to the Canadian people from the Citadel on August 31 after having taken a short holiday.

MEMORIAL TO THE LONDON BLITZ

'Come with me to Hermitage Wall, Wapping.' Desolate sort of hole, isn't it! Pretty bad before the Blitz, and worse now that the hand of the German has passed over it. Not much here except ruins with the Thames lapping and whispering yonder.

'Here is a building though. Watson's Shelter; it is closed as a shelter now, because blast has made it unsafe; but we can walk gingerly into it because, inside here, there is a scribbled record of courage that equals the chiselled inscription at the base of any hero's statue.

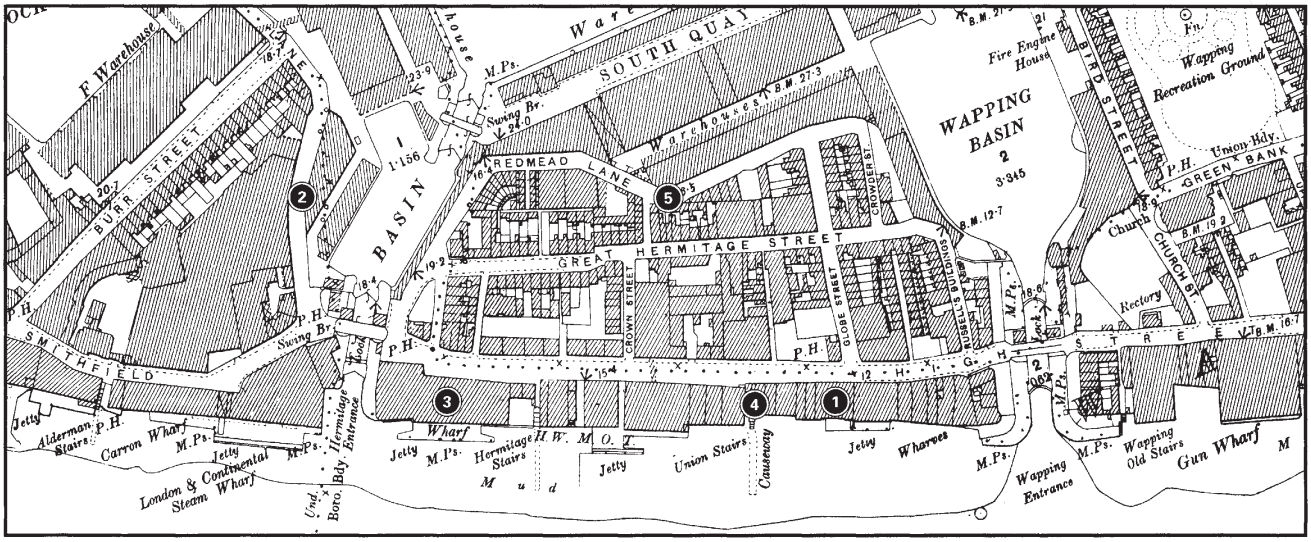
'This is no statue; it is a dirty, rubble-strewn, dusty place, very big and very empty and quiet. It sheltered its hundreds, not long ago, from the "Terror That Flies by Night".

'Here is what I wanted to show you. "DEAD END KIDS' DEPARTMENT — RITZ BRISTOL CARLTON TIFFANY'S PARK LANE MARLBOROUGH . . ." Each cramped cubicle bears the name of some world-famous hotel or restaurant.

'Surely the great journalists of today must all be gallivanting round the war-fronts as special correspondents, or one would have sniffed out the story this queer notice tells — the story nobody has published, and only Stepney hides it deep down in its heart with a pride that will never forget. "The Dead End Kids" would ask no other memorial.

'Patsie Duggan was their leader, and from him I have got most of the facts which follow. You can take it for granted, however, that I had to get the stories about Duggan himself from other people.

'Patsie's father is a Stepney dustman, father of 17 children. He is a part-time ARP Warden with a fine record of courage and



Flashback to the Blitz. 'The Dead End Kids' (L-R): Eddie Chusonis, Freddie Pope, Oswald Bath, Patsie Duggan (with armband) Jackie Duggan with sticking plaster on his face, and Ronnie Eyres, in their shelter HQ at Watson's Wharf [1], Wapping. Ronnie, aged 18, was killed with Bert Eadon, aged 16, in nearby Thomas More Street (renamed from Nightingale Lane [2] in 1939). The massive Hermitage Wharf [3] served local people as a shelter during the Blitz until it was hit on December 29/30, 1940. Another casualty of the bombing was the 400-year-old riverside pub, the Turks Head [4].

Left: **The boys' story was told by the Mayor of Stepney, Frank Lewey in his book *Cockney Campaign* published in 1944 but long out of print. Here they are pictured in Redmead Lane at position [5] on the map.** *Above:* **Wapping, like much of East London's redundant dock areas, has been totally transformed in recent years leaving Hermitage Wharf** *(front cover)* **as the only riverside site still undeveloped. It is this land that the organisation Civilians Remembered want to be set aside and dedicated as a Memorial Park to London's victims of the Blitz.**

endurance in the Blitz. Patsie's mother has a record of her own. It was she who put out a blazing incendiary bomb on Wapping Island's wooden bridge, and so undoubtedly saved the bridge one terrible night when the bombs were coming down like rain. There were more than 300 fires actually burning in that small area at one period that night.

'Patsie himself, when the war began, was working as a docker. He became a volunteer shelter marshal (unpaid) at Watson's Shelter, and immediately formed a fire-party of his own, which he called "The Dead End Kids". Patsie Duggan (leader), Jackie Duggan, Fred Pope, Ronnie Doyle, Harold Parker, Eddie Chusonis, Joe Storey, Terry Conolly, Graham Bath, Ronnie Eyres, Oswald Bath, Bert Eaden, Maureen Duggan (aged 13). George Thorpe, contact-man for Wapping Island, an elderly Londoner who has always been a popular figure among the children there, was a sort of honorary member.

'Some of these children were very poor, and dressed in cheap clothes, but they were chosen as carefully as British officers choose Commandos, and for the same qualities.

'They were split into sections of four. Each section was responsible for a district on Wapping Island, which is connected with the mainland only by two bridges, one of them of wood. None of these baby fire-fighters was paid.

'Patsie's badge of office was a short iron bar, of which various miracles are related. It saved many people's lives. The Kids had their own hand-truck, stirrup-pumps, and other apparatus. Steel helmets, rubber boots, gloves, and some sand-buckets and spades completed their equipment.

'These Kids did things that were not in the official book of words. For instance, there was an unbreakable law that time-bombs were not to be touched by adult fire-fighters until bomb disposal personnel from the Royal Engineers could attend to them. Two time-bombs came down in the Watson's Wharf area. "To hell with this!" Patsie Duggan said. "We'll rope them and get them into the water." And they did.

'One of the Kids was always on duty, sitting out in the open on the roof of Watson's Shelter, fire-bomb spotting. Whenever any job needed doing, he directed a Kids' section to the place, and said what equipment they would need.

'One night there was a terrific fire near by. Warehouses containing hemp and sisal, tea, spice, rubber and spirits went blazing sky-high. That was a job for the whole gang. They took their truck so near the fires that some men there tried to drive them back; they vanished into the flames like small black imps. They did incredible things that night.

'There came another concentrated night Blitz. Wapping blazed in a hundred places. A call for volunteers reached Watson's Shelter, and, in the words of a man who was there: "In a moment ten boys rushed up the stairs, ready, it seemed, to eat fires." One building, burning furiously, contained about 30 horses. Young Ronnie Eyres led a section in to release them and lead them to safety. It was a big job, and other sections were told to go in and help. They got every horse out, and led the lot to safety. The horses whinnied and blew and plunged, but they trusted those boys, and went through fire with them. Ronnie came back with his section looking for more worlds to conquer. The clothes of some of those boys were smouldering.

'The Kids' sections were moved here and there by their veteran young commander. Ronnie's section was running towards some houses on which a load of incendiaries had just fallen when three very heavy bombs came down almost beside them. Ronnie Eyres and Bert Eagen were killed almost instantaneously, and another boy was badly wounded. Patsie Duggan himself was also wounded, but carried on. They carried Ronnie Eyres back to his home, and while his body lay there his notice to join the RAF arrived. He had been longing for it to come, but when it came he was already called to higher service.'

So wrote Frank Lewey, the Mayor of Stepney, in his book *Cockney Campaign* in 1944. His borough was already one of the worst hit in East London during the Blitz. On the first night, September 8, 1940, a direct hit on Peabody Buildings, just west of Dock Street killed 78, and on the very last day of the V1-V2 campaign, a rocket struck Hughes Mansions in Vallance Road killing 134. It was the worst incident caused by enemy action in the East End of London, save only for the accident on the night of March 3, 1943 when 178 people were crushed to death in a panic rush at Bethnal Green tube shelter.

Exploits long since forgotten . . . but not to Civilians Remembered: 'Thousands were killed . . . thousands were injured and made homeless . . . and thousands still live with their painful memories. We will never forget!

Left: **Berlin has its civilian war dead memorial in the shape of the Kaiser Wilhelm Church hit on the night of November 22/23, 1943, the purpose of which is to remind its citizens 'of the judgement that God passed on our people in the years of war'.**

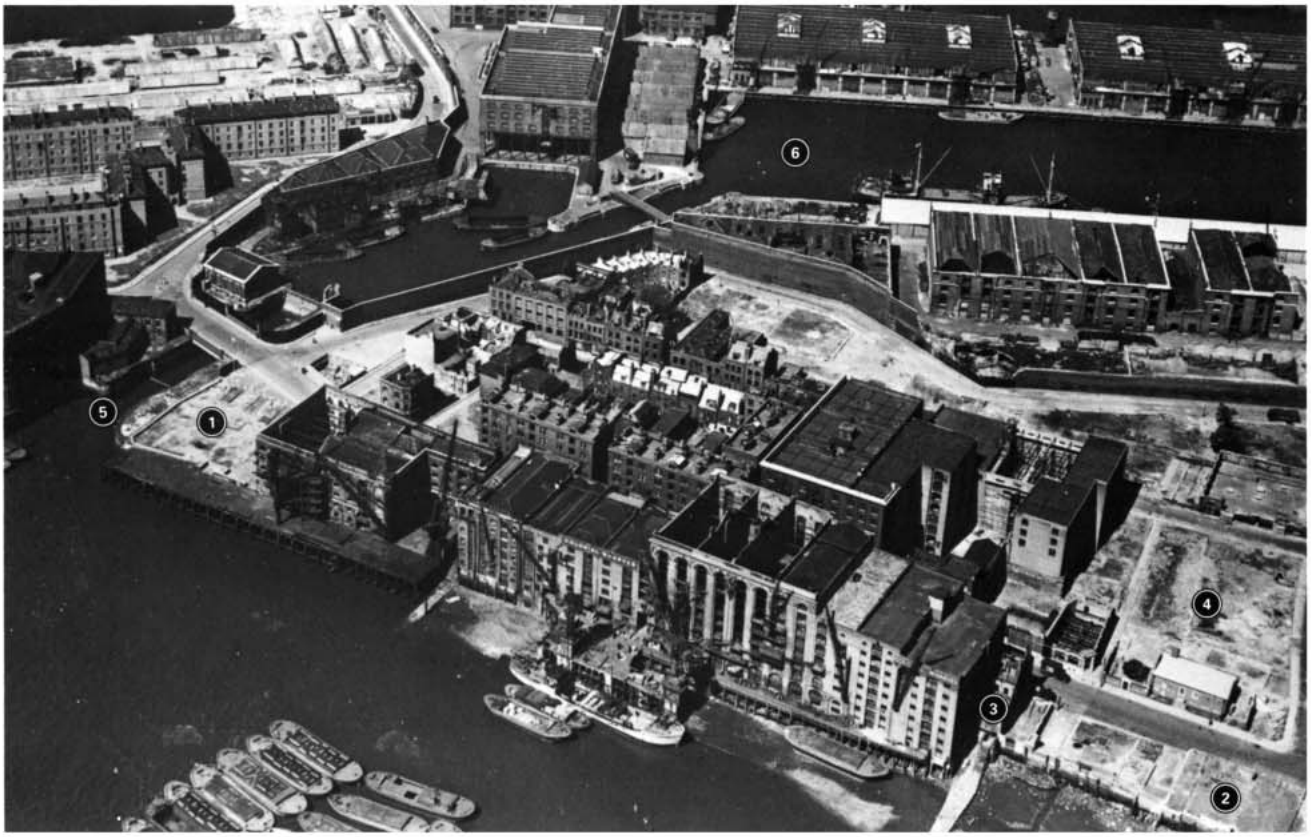
Right: **A similar ruin still standing in the City of London is Christ Church at the junction of Newgate Street and Holborn Viaduct. It was gutted on the night of December 29/30, 1940 and could have been dedicated as London's memorial church.**

All this, we described in our three-volumes of *The Blitz Then and Now*. It took us longer to produce than the six-year period it describes, and when, as your Editor, I finished the last page I cried; not only at the relief that the job of recording the civilian's war was over, but also because no one had seen fit to remember the hardship, the injured, the maimed, and the dead, in the form of a tangible memorial.

There had been talk by the Greater London Council in 1985 over the erection of a statue in Jubilee Gardens but that is all it was — talk — and a lot of argument over what form it should take; and that it should also commemorate the victims of Hiroshima and Dresden. But both our former enemies had already seen fit to remember their civilian dead in their own way, Berlin, for example, having retained the ruin of a church at the end of a main street in the city centre as a striking monument.

Although I dedicated *The Blitz Then and Now* to the memory of all Britain's civilian casualties, I also suggested that ruined Christ Church in the heart of the City, just to the north of St Paul's, might be chosen as a suitable memorial in London. It was bombed on the night of the big raid on December 29/30, 1940, which resulted in much of the City being laid waste in what became known as the 'Second Great Fire of London'.

On the southern side of the Cathedral lies Old Change Court and it was here in May 1991 that The Queen Mother unveiled a memorial to all those personnel of the Fire Service who lost their lives due to enemy action. Its striking design of a group of firemen in action was by John W. Mills, son-in-law of our author Cyril Demarne whose inspiration it was. (It was John who first used the words 'Civilians Remembered'.)



The Wapping riverside in 1946. Hermitage Wharf [1] has been razed as has Watson's Wharf [2]. The Turks Head is [3] and the site of the school hit by the flying bomb [4]. The entrance lock [5] to the Western Dock [6]. (MIDP)

By 1958, the warehouses on the wharf had been repaired and a shed erected on the site of Hermitage Wharf itself. (MIDP).

At the same time, East End taxi driver Joe Emden, whose mother Miriam had been killed at Hughes Mansions in the big raid on London on May 10, 1941, actively began campaigning in association with the Hermitage Environment Group, which had been founded by Ben Birnbaum and Maureen Stichbury, to establish a memorial in the East End of London 'in memory of the civilian population who lost their lives during the Blitz'. The proposal was to incorporate a monument in a memorial garden sited on one of the last pieces of open land on the Thames riverside near Tower Bridge. Their cause was taken up by London's *Evening Standard* newspaper and championed in particular by the *East London Advertiser.*

The site was historic for a number of reasons. First it had been the location of Hermitage Wharf, a huge warehouse used as a shelter by the people of Wapping; then it was the location of Watson's Wharf around which occurred the exploits of the 'Dead End Kids' already described; and opposite once lay Hermitage Wall School which received a direct hit from a flying bomb on July 9, 1944, killing five members of the ARP Rescue Service.

The London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC), set up in 1981 to regenerate Docklands, already owned two-thirds of the two-acre derelict site and in 1993 they paid Tower Hamlets Council £4.28 million for the remaining third, with plans to sell it on for around £10 million to developers for the erection of riverside apartments.

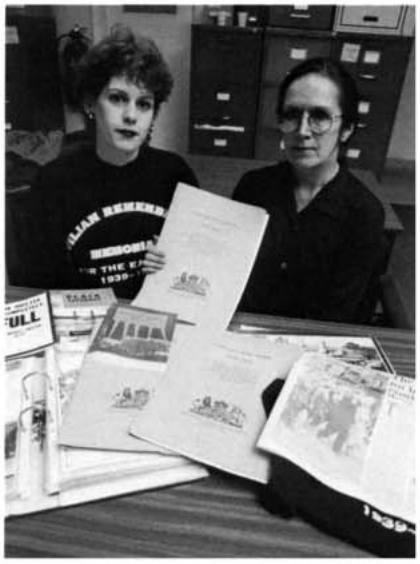
In March 1995, Marianne Fredericks and Meryl Thomas, together with Joe Emden and a number of like-minded Eastenders, formed Civilians Remembered, and set out to challenge the might of the all-powerful LDDC. Much to the annoyance of the Corporation, the campaigners festooned the wire fence to the land with yellow ribbons and bunches of flowers, staged marches and demonstrations, and began lobbying Members of Parliament. The campaign to honour London's Second World War civilian casualties gained increasing support but, at the same time, the LDDC snubbed these efforts by giving the go ahead for the proposed development.

There was immediate pressure for the matter to be referred to a Public Inquiry which was finally agreed by the Minister for Planning, Construction and Energy Efficiency (the Rt Hon John Gummer, MP, who delegated the matter to his deputy, Robert Jones, MP, because of a conflict of interest) in July that 'in view of the prominent location of this significant waterfront site on the River Thames, the applications be referred to him for decision instead of being dealt with by the LDDC'. This statement referred to the fact that the LDDC, which is an unelected and unaccountable 'quango', owned the site, wrote the planning brief and determined the usage; in effect acting not only as judge and jury, but also as executioner.

With the Inquiry scheduled to be held at St George's Town Hall, Cable Street, in October, meanwhile a petition was drawn up and signed by 4,000 Civilians Remembered supporters and presented to Parliament by Mildred Gordon, MP for Bow and Poplar in July 1996:

'Wherefore your petitioners pray that your honourable House recognises that the bravery of East End Civilians during the last war should be honoured by a Memorial to be erected in a Park setting, on the last remaining open land fronting the Thames, in Wapping — known as the Hermitage Riverside — close to Tower Bridge, which was the entrance to the London Docks. This is the most fitting and appropriate site to honour the suffering of East End Civilians. This Park will provide a much needed amenity for contemplation, education and recreation, and access to the river for their surviving families and future generations.'

The London Docks closed in 1968-71, this picture taken in February 1981 showing the Western Dock almost completely filled in and the printing plant owned by Rupert Murdoch — which itself would result in the 'Second Battle of Wapping' in 1987 — being erected behind. Meanwhile, the Hermitage waterfront has been completely levelled save for the post-war shed beside a breaker's yard. (MIDP)



Left: **L-R: Peggy Duggan (sister of Patsie who died in 1990) with Joe Emden and Maureen Davies of Civilians Remembered.** *Right:* **It is largely due to the relentless campaigning by Marianne Fredericks (left) and Meryl Thomas that Civilians Remembered has made its voice heard. Marianne first became involved in March 1995 when she saw models of the proposed development. Over a weekend she put together a bid to the Millennium Fund for the establishment of a Memorial Park on the site and then contacted Meryl of the Hermitage Environment Group. They joined forces and Civilians Remembered was born.**

On March 28, 1996, an Early Day motion received the support of 111 Members of Parliament. This stated that 'this House believes strongly that 50 years after the end of the Second World War, it is high time that a memorial be built in East London to civilians who sufferred continuous bombing and who died in the Blitz, and to dock workers who risked their lives to keep the London Docks open; and further believes that Hermitage Wharf, the last remaining suitable riverside site in Tower Hamlets, is an ideal location for a memorial park which would both enable the survivors and their descendants to enjoy the riverside, very little of which is accessible to East Enders, and would be a lasting memorial to the courage of the population of London.'

Although your Editor was asked to speak at the Public Inquiry, I felt it would carry far more weight if someone appeared who had first-hand experiences of the Blitz. Cyril Demarne, who fought fires in East London for six years and, as fire chief, visited many of the worst incidents, was the ideal man. More than 300 letters of support for the Memorial Park were presented while the LDDC and the proposed developers, Enterprise Trust Limited, and Berkeley Homes (Kent) Limited pressed for their scheme to take precedence.

The Rt Hon Peter Shore, Member of Parliament for Bethnal Green and Stepney, explained to the Inspector that when the LDDC was established in 1981, 63 acres of land owned by the London Borough of Tower Hamlets (within whose area the Hermitage Wharf site fell) was vested in the Corporation, at which point local people lost their power to influence its development to the unelected LDDC. In 1991, long before the present scheme was submitted, the idea of a Memorial Park had been put to the LDDC, the 50th anniversary of VE-Day giving added momentum to the campaign.

A representative from the Borough of Tower Hamlets said that the council was in favour of the proposal for a Memorial Park and The Friends of War Memorials confirmed that to the best of their knowledge there was no major memorial to civilian war dead in Britain.

Civilians Remembered said that it was unlikely that any other location would have the same sense of place, importance, prominence and capability of being a site of national significance as did the Hermitage site. A Memorial Park would enable contemplation, serenity and remembrance whereas a piece of sculpture would not. It was a matter of national, not just local importance, that the sacrifices made should be properly remembered and honoured.

The Hermitage Environment Group reminded the Inspector that the plans drawn up by Professor Abercrombie in 1943 for the rebuilding of London after the war proposed that the Wapping riverfront 'should in the main be freed for open space and riverside amenity'.

The Docklands Forum also brought the Inspector's attention to the view of the Secretary of State, the Rt Hon John Gummer, who had already gone on record saying that his aim would be 'to bring a sense of courtesy to the environment and avoid buildings which stick two fingers up to their surroundings'. In the view of the Forum, the proposed scheme of ten-storey apartments would do just that.

Members of the public complained to the Inspector that the LDDC was valuation and profit driven, always emphasising the commercial aspects of regeneration. People felt powerless and marginalised by the insensitivity of the LDDC to local residents' views. More luxury flats were seen as the last thing that was needed on the site as locals could not afford to buy them. A Memorial Park to honour civilian war dead was long overdue and would remind our children and grandchildren of what war means.

Deputation to the Department of the Environment (the ultimate government department responsible) on March 28, 1996. L-R: Maureen Stichbury; Mildred Gordon, Member of Parliament for Bow and Poplar; Peter Shore, MP for Bethnal Green and Stepney; Ben Birnbaum, Marianne and Meryl. Their message was simple: There is no memorial for victims of the London Blitz, and the bravery of their families remains unrecognised. The East End suffered the full brunt of the attack by Hitler's bombers which was aimed at the docks and the City of London. There is an ideal site available: the Hermitage Riverside site close to Tower Bridge in Wapping. It is the last undeveloped site by the Thames. On December 29, 1940, the Hermitage Steam Wharf shelter was hit by incendiary and high-explosive bombs and this land has remained derelict ever since. Here, therefore, should be sited London's Blitz Memorial.

November 19, 1995. Prayer Procession from the new Turk's Head (nominal HQ of Civilians Remembered) to Hermitage Wharf.

The encroaching riverside developments are all too apparent . . . meanwhile, St Patrick's Church band plays on.

The battle for Hermitage Riverside was a true case of David against Goliath and, when the Inspector's report was published on March 17, 1997, he recommended to the Minister that 'all or part of the application site would be a suitable and appropriate site for a Civilian Memorial'.

As a result, the Junior Environment Minister, Robert Jones MP, rejected the two separate planning applications and instead called for fresh plans for the area that would incorporate a 'defined waterfront park'. It was a marvellous reward for all the hard work put in by Civilians Remembered and also a tremendous example of how the common man can still fight bureaucracy and big business and win through — just as men and women did more than 50 years ago when faced with a common enemy. However, although a battle has been won, the final victory to turn their dream into reality has yet to be achieved. Civilians Remembered need all the help they can get to achieve their goal. Readers interested in supporting the cause should write to Civilians Remembered c/o The Turks Head, 1 Greenbank, Wapping, London E1 9PA.

July 16, 1996. Petition to Parliament signed by 4,000 supporters which led to an Early Day motion endorsed by 114 Members of Parliament. (One cannot but wonder the reasons why the other 500-odd MPs failed to support such a cause!)

THE GUNS OF VITI LEVU

By David Green

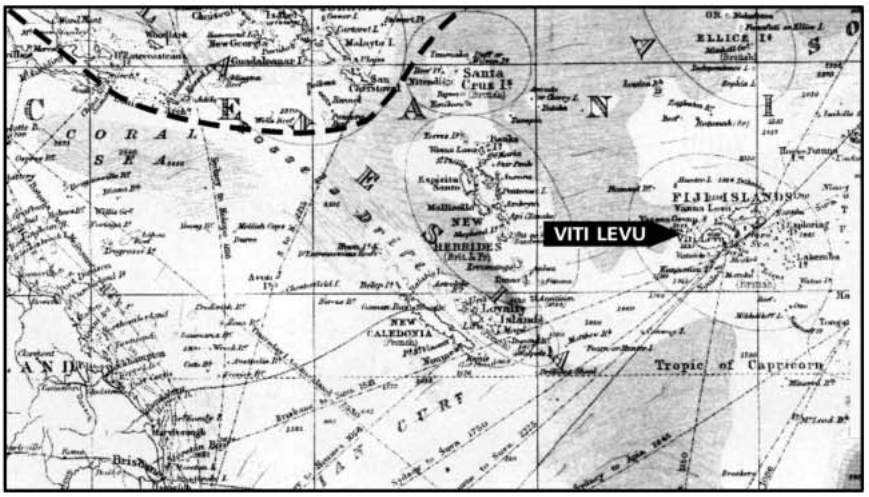
Fiji is known for its idyllic beaches and warm waters but for the Japanese in 1942, the islands were seen as a stepping stone in their expanding Pacific empire. Allied defences were hurriedly constructed to repel the expected invasion — which never arrived — and the remains of these defences can still be found today.

Japan's entry into the Second World War was followed by a series of fast and unexpectedly-easy victories. Enthusiastic and over-confident staff of the Japanese Navy then proposed such grandiose operations as the invasion of Australia, Hawaii and India (from where Japanese troops would theoretically drive northward to join up with German forces in the Middle East). Dissension arose between the members of the Japanese Army and Navy General Staff over these unrealistic plans before a compromise was reached: the invasion of Port Moresby in New Guinea and the cutting of the Australian supply line with the occupation of Samoa, New Caledonia and Fiji.

Fiji is an archipelago of 320 islands scattered through 500,000 square kilometres of the Pacific Ocean; 3160 kilometres north-east of Sydney, Australia, and 2120 kilometres north of Auckland, New Zealand. The largest and most populous of the islands is Viti Levu, home to the group's chief port and capital, Suva.

The Fijian islands were first sighted in 1643 by the Dutch navigator Abel Janszoon Tasman. However, it was not until 1789 that the main islands were discovered by Captain William Bligh following the infamous mutiny on the *Bounty*. The strategic significance of Fiji was noted in 1919 by Earl Jellicoe aboard HMS *New Zealand*. In a letter to the British Admiralty he wrote: 'It is impossible to consider the question of naval strategy in the Pacific without taking account of Suva Harbour. This harbour holds a position of great strategic importance with reference to New Zealand and Australia. It should accordingly be strongly fortified and held.'

By 1936, the British Overseas Defence Committee had concluded that both the Royal Navy and New Zealand's armed forces should be responsible for the defence of Fiji. Two years later, New Zealand's Chiefs-of-Staff recommended the Fiji Defence Force be increased to brigade size, and advocated the construction of airfields and siting of coastal artillery. The Pacific Defence Conference of April 1939 argued that an unfavourable European situation could prevent the English fleet from sailing to the Far East. Seizing the initiative, Japan could then launch attacks against Australia and New Zealand. An invasion of either country would require Japanese bases in the South Pacific. As one of the principal established naval refuelling bases in this area, Fiji would provide Japan with the ideal platform from which to launch such operations.



Japanese conquests in the Pacific during 1942 brought Fiji into the front line as the last island group between Australia and the United States. Picture *(top)* shows men of the 1st Heavy Regiment of the Fijian Army at the 6-inch coastal battery overlooking Suva harbour.

By the time the threat against Fiji had faded, five coastal batteries had been established on the main island of Viti Levu. The Suva battery site has been abandoned to the jungle; this is how David Green found it during his expedition to the island in August 1995.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

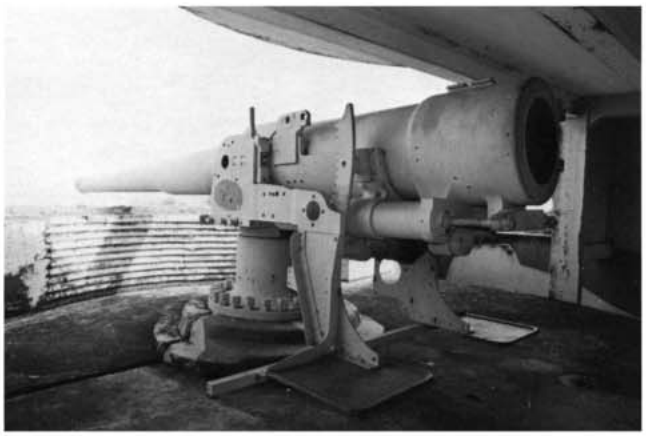
Prior to the declaration of war in September 1939, Fiji was totally unprepared to defend itself from either seaborne invasion or attack by surface raiders. Indeed, it was the outbreak of war against Germany which prompted the order for coastal artillery to be installed. Plans were drawn up by Colonel Nurse of the Royal Australian Artillery for the establishment of an examination and harbour defence battery at Muanikau Hill, Suva. Guns for the battery arrived in record time from New Zealand aboard HMS *Leander* and, with a black-out and security measures in place, no one noticed the guns being 'carried' off the ship by two sailors.

These dummy weapons were replaced by genuine 4.7-inch guns three months later. It was rumoured these particular guns had seen action in Hong Kong with an earlier history as field artillery in the relief of Kimberley, besieged for 126 days during the Boer War. Gun drill during the first months of the Second World War was practiced with two ancient 3-pounder Quick Firing guns, formerly from HMCS *Pioneer*, unearthed from Public Works Department stores.

The first proof shot from the new Suva battery was fired on March 11, 1940. Then, a mysterious vessel appearing out of bad weather on the morning of July 22 resulted in the firing of the first Fijian 'heave-to' round. Ignoring orders to stop after the initial challenge, the ship was assumed to be hostile, and it was only after a near miss that the irate and non-belligerent Scottish skipper contacted the battery commander!

The second gun position to be built was located on the western side of the island at Momi and this is the only battery which has been officially preserved for public inspection.

Today the Fijian National Trust looks after the site and has set up a small museum in one of the semi-underground buildings *(centre)* **once used as the observation post.**



The two Momi guns are 6-inch MkVIIs on MkII central pivot mountings. This was a combination introduced into service in 1898 and the markings on the guns indicate that they were manufactured at the turn of the century by Vickers, Son and Maxim, although they were not installed on the island until 1941. They could fire a standard 100lb shell at 2,538ft/sec out to 14,000 yards and the projectile could penetrate 15 inches of steel plate at 1,000 yards.

A second coastal defence position was established at Momi on the western side of Viti Levu. Guarding the strategic Navala Passage, two 6-inch Mk VII guns arrived to complete the battery in March 1941. The Suva battery was upgraded on December 1 with two additional 6-inch Mk VII guns. The two original 4.7-inch guns were then transferred across the harbour to a new battery at Bilo. Searchlights were installed to illuminate Suva's harbour and 24-hour manning of the guns began. The three positions — Suva, Bilo and Momi — were respectively referred to as A, B, and C Troops, Suva Battery, later amended to A, B and C Batteries, 1st Heavy Regiment Fiji Artillery.

A warning shot was fired at the Japanese cargo vessel *Taka Chiha Maru* on December 6, 1941, for failing to stop when requested. Speculation exists that the ship deliberately drew fire from the Suva battery to ascertain its position and range as it is almost certain that this information was known by the Japanese submarine which surfaced eight miles south-west of Suva on the afternoon of January 16, 1942. After unsuccessfully firing two torpedoes at the armed merchant cruiser HMS *Monowai*, gun-fire was exchanged before the submarine submerged.

Although the radar antenna on the hillside above the battery was said to be used for fire control, the Royal Artillery Historical Trust believe it was a tactical control or surveillance radar, probably American in origin.

A second harbour gun site was established at Bilo utilising the two original 4.7-inch guns moved from Suva when that battery was upgraded to 6-inch. David says that 'the Japanese were experienced in attacking and capturing coastal forts from earlier conflicts: taking Port Arthur from the Chinese in 1894, and again from the Russians in 1905, and capturing Tsingtao from the Germans in 1914. In each case, the main contingent troops were landed away from the fort's striking distance, advancing to the rear and attacking the position from behind.' As Bilo battery is now used by the Fiji Army as a training area and is off limits, David must have taken a leaf out of the book of the sons of Nippon to take these photographs!

To bolster the defences of Suva harbour, an additional coastal artillery position was constructed at Flagstaff Hill. Situated half a mile from the Suva Battery, the new fort was equipped with three of the latest Mk 24, 6-inch guns. In either close defence or counter-bombardment rôles, its guns were capable of hurling a projectile over 24,000 yards. Fire control was assisted by the newly-installed radar station. The soft soapstone of the area enabled the magazines, plotting and powder rooms to be excavated some 60 feet below the surface.

By early 1942, the Japanese invasion of Fiji seemed imminent. To strengthen the western defences a fifth and final 6-inch coastal battery was constructed at Vuda. Its arc of fire covered the port of Lautoka and combined with the Momi battery to protect the important Nadi airfield. A radar facility was installed at Momi to assist in fire direction.

Little remains to be seen at Flagstaff Hill but . . .

NEW ZEALAND AND THE UNITED STATES

The defence of Fiji and operations by the Fiji Defence Force (FDF) was initially the responsibility of the 2nd New Zealand Expeditionary Force. Fijian personnel recruited for the coastal artillery batteries as ammunition handlers soon proved themselves capable of more worthy tasks such as gunlaying and signalling. Native Fijians were also employed as coast watchers, maintaining an important 24-hour watch on the main and outlying islands.

By early 1942, it was realised that Fiji was the final defence bastion between Australia and the United States. On June 10, 1942, the US 37th Infantry Division arrived in Suva to relieve the New Zealand forces. The Americans' primary purpose was to defend Fiji whilst preparing for forthcoming operations against the Japanese and on June 30 the Fiji Defence Force officially came under the control of the US Army.

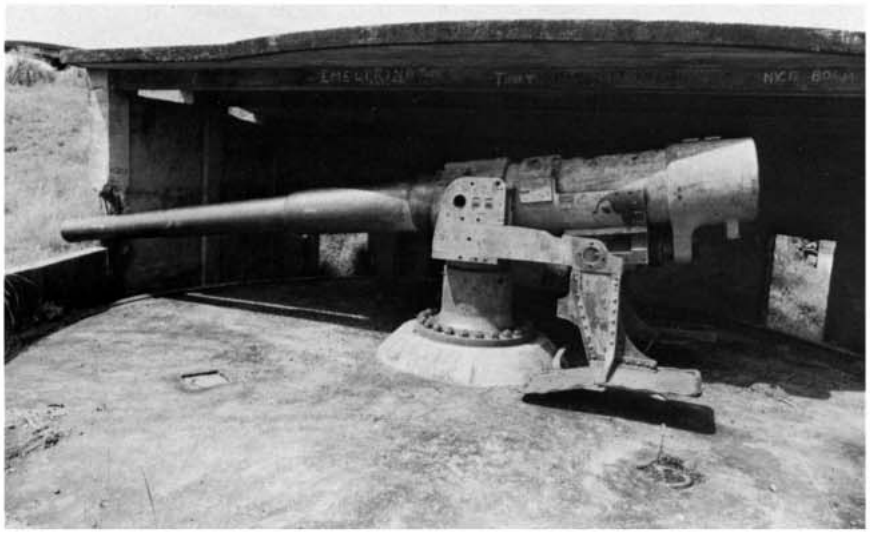
The coastal artillery batteries were taken over by the American 251st Artillery Regiment with the exception of Flagstaff Battery which was retained under FDF control. Small parties of native gunners were assigned to the US units stationed at each battery and practice shoots were staged on a monthly basis, using both British and American fire procedures.

With the Japanese threat to Fiji lifted by the end of 1942, the bulk of the US forces was removed and the 251st Artillery Regiment departed Fiji on February 13, 1943. Suva and Bilo Batteries were handed back to the Fijians, forming the 1st Heavy Regiment, but those at Vuda and Momi remained in US hands until February 10, 1944, when the manning of all coastal artillery ceased.

The threat of Japanese landings on Fiji never progressed beyond the planning stage but, had the tide of war turned in Japan's favour at Midway, it may well have been a different story. On May 18, 1942, Lieutenant-General Haruyoshi Hyukatake, commander of the Japanese 17th Army, was ordered to prepare landings on new Caledonia, Samoa and Fiji, and to continue the overland attack against Port Moresby. From these newly-acquired territories, sustained attacks would then be launched against Australia and New Zealand to prevent the concentration of Allied forces.

The proposed invasions, however, were postponed following a joint Japanese Army-Navy meeting which agreed with Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto's plan to invade Midway. A resounding defeat, it marked a major turning point in the Pacific war and spelt the end of the Japanese threat to Fiji. The closest the Japanese actually came to Fijian soil was the *Monowai* attack and several reconnaissance flights by aircraft launched from the submarines *I-10* and *I-25*.

Although manned throughout the war in a state of constant readiness, the guns of Viti Levu never challenged the Japanese invasion. Today, these guns and their concrete emplacements stand as ageing memorials to a time when the security of this idyllic island may well have depended upon them.



. . . David trekked to the remote battery at Vuda on the eastern side of the island. The site is rarely visited and he found both guns lying just as they must have been abandoned in 1944.

David writes that 'with this particular gun *(left)* **I was able to swing it round to get a great shot looking out to sea'.** *Right:* **The second piece rests immobile in the grass.**

MEDALS OF HONOR AWARDED — 50 YEARS AFTER

By Karel Margry

On January 13, 1997, American President Bill Clinton put right an historical injustice when he presented Medals of Honor to seven black soldiers who had served in World War II, making them the only black recipients of the medal for that war.

The award of seven Medals of Honor — the United States' highest decoration for heroism in combat — to African-American soldiers more than 50 years after the end of the war in which they were won marked the conclusion of an issue that had been widely discussed in the US, especially among the black community and World War II veteran organisations. Some commentators considered the new awards to African-American soldiers a rewriting of history, a concession for the sake of political correctness, and, however well intentioned, the wrong way to correct past injustice; others judged it a long-overdue recognition of valour that should have been awarded at the time, and probably would have, if it had not been for racial prejudices prevailing then. The debate was not about the individual courage of the seven men honoured — their valour and the bravery of their wartime acts were undisputed — but about the desirability of such belated nominations.

The award of the Medal of Honor to representatives of minority groups as a result of political pressure by lobby groups was not a new phenomenon in the United States. In 1977, the only Medal of Honor ever awarded to a woman — to army surgeon Dr Mary Walker — which had been revoked in February 1917 (when a War Department reviewing board struck all awards which did not involve actual combat from the official Medal of Honor list), was posthumously restored under political pressure from women groups. And in 1991, the fact that no black soldier had been awarded the Medal of Honor for service in World War I was corrected when Corporal Freddie Stowers, a black soldier who had served with the 93rd Division in

MEDALS OF HONOR AWARDED TO US ARMY PERSONNEL

(Number of Medals awarded to blacks in parentheses)

Civil War	1,196 (16)	Korean War	78 (2)
Indian Campaign	428 (18)	Vietnam Conflict	155 (15)
Spanish-American War	30 (5)	Grenada	0 (0)
Philippine Insurrection	70 (0)	Persian Gulf	0 (0)
Boxer Rebellion	4 (0)	Somalia	2 (0)
Mexican Campaign	1 (0)		
World War I	96 (1*)		
World War II	294 (0)	Total	2,354 (57)

Note: Figures are for US Army (and US Army Air Force) only. Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps Medals of Honor are not included.

* Posthumous award to Corporal Freddie Stowers in 1991.

The question whether racial prejudice had prevented black soldiers from winning the Medal of Honor in World War II was finally laid to rest when the American government awarded the nation's highest combat decoration to seven black servicemen in January 1997, nearly 52 years after the end of the war. The belated awards were the result of an Army-commissioned academic study which had investigated the question and found that, although there had been no official policy to exclude African-Americans from the Medal, racial bias and Army practices during the war had guaranteed that no black soldier would receive it. *Top:* **President Clinton awards the first of the medals to former 1st Lieutenant Vernon Baker, 77, the only veteran alive to receive the medal in person.**

The Medal of Honor is the Unites States' highest decoration for valour in combat. Because it is bestowed 'in the name of the Congress' it is frequently, but erroneously, called the 'Congressional Medal of Honor'. It was instituted during the American Civil War, first for Navy personnel by the act signed by President Abraham Lincoln on December 21, 1861, and then for Army personnel by a similar act on July 12, 1861. It became highly coveted in the decades after that, and there were several cases of misuse and imitation which necessitated a redesign of the medal and a tightening of regulations governing its award. In June 1916, in order to truly reserve the Medal for gallantry involving actual combat, Congress directed the Secretary of War to appoint a board of five retired generals to review the past awards. By the time the board concluded its review on February 15, 1917, it had stricken 911 names from the official Medal of Honor list. The act of July 9, 1918, established the criteria for the Medal which were in effect during World War II, and still are today: 'The President may award, and present in the name of Congress, the Medal of Honor to a person who, while a member of the Army and in action involving actual conflict with an enemy, distinguishes himself conspicuously by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty'. Since its establishment, some 3,400 Medals of Honor have been awarded, more than 2,300 of which to Army servicemen.

1918, received a posthumous Medal of Honor, 73 years after he was killed in leading his platoon in an attack against entrenched mortar and machine gun positions in France.

Out of 433 Medals of Honor bestowed for service in World War II, not a single one went to any of the 1.2 million black soldiers who fought in that war. A few blacks did win the Distinguished Service Cross (DSC), the nation's second-highest decoration for bravery (and several more the Silver Star, the third-highest decoration), but none received the top award. There were periodic calls to investigate the phenomenon, but a full-scale probe was launched only in 1993 when Secretary of the Army John Shannon commissioned an academic study. Under contract MDA903-93-C-0260, the Army directed Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, to discover why no black soldier received the Medal of Honor during World War II and to determine if there was a racial disparity in the way Medal of Honor recipients were selected. More specific, the university was directed to document the process by which the Medal was awarded during and immediately after the war (the period for processing awards ended on September 1, 1948); to identify all units in which African-Americans served; to identify by name all black soldiers who were submitted for the Medal and document any errors in the processing of their nominations; and to compile a list of all black DSC recipients with descriptions of the actions which produced the decoration.

The investigative team consisted of Professor Daniel K. Gibran of Shaw University (chairman), Professor Richard H. Kohn of the University of North Carolina, Colonel John A. Cash (retd) and Colonel Robert K. Griffith (Retd) of the US Army, and Colonel Elliott V. Converse (Retd) of the USAF, all experienced researchers with a degree in history. Only one of the commission members was black himself. Professor Gibran — a Guyana-born, British-educated, West-Indian — later commented that his non-American background had permitted him to approach his commission's task with some detachment and 'without perhaps some of the cultural baggage others might have had'.

Most of the research involved searching through thousands of official Army records, from the War Department down to company level, with special attention to awards policy and practice. In addition, a wide variety of government documents, newspapers, private papers collections, books and articles was consulted, and over 40 people were interviewed.

Studying the historical and socio-cultural background of black soldiers in the war, the Shaw commission found that the absence of black Medal of Honor recipients was a relatively new thing. The medal had been awarded to black veterans of both the Civil War and the Spanish-American War in numbers roughly proportional to the number of blacks to whites in the armed services. The disparity had begun after World War I. Racial assumptions about the inferiority of blacks as combat troops, based in part on a misreading of the experience in World War I, dominated Army thinking at the beginning of World War II. This led to the policy of segregating black soldiers in separate units led by white officers, and relegating them overwhelmingly to service in non-combat units. Their morale was further undermined by racial policies and conflicts between white officers and black enlisted men. All this resulted in black units lagging behind in training and effectiveness. Under pressure from the black community, black combat units were formed, and eventually separate black divisions were created. As the war progressed, pressure mounted to use these units in combat and in early 1944 the 93rd Division was deployed to the Pacific and in the summer of 1944, the 92nd Division was sent to battle in Italy. Soldiers in these and many other black units, such as artillery, amphibian truck, and engineer units, came under fire and many of them were decorated for feats of bravery.

President Clinton (right) rises for his speech at the ceremony at the White House. Seated next to Clinton is Vernon Baker, and next to him, the representatives of the six deceased recipients: (from left) Sergeant Major of the Army Gene McKinney on behalf of Private George Watson (for whom no descendants could be traced); Sandra Thomas for her uncle Major Charles Thomas; Grace Woodfork for her brother Staff Sergeant Ruben Rivers; Edward A. Carter III for his father Staff Sergeant Edward Carter, Jr; Arlene Fox for her husband Lieutenant John Fox; and Valcenie James for her husband PFC Willy James.

Citation: 'First Lieutenant John R. Fox distinguished himself by extraordinary heroism at the risk of his own life on 26 December 1944 in the Serchio river valley sector, in the vicinity of Sommocolonia, Italy. Lieutenant Fox was a member of Cannon Company, 366th Infantry, 92nd Infantry Division, acting as a forward observer, while attached to the 598th Field Artillery Battalion. Christmas Day in the Serchio valley was spent in positions which had been occupied for some weeks. During Christmas night, there was a gradual influx of enemy soldiers in civilian clothes and by early morning the town was largely in enemy hands. An organized attack by uniformed German formations was launched around 0400 hours, 26 December 1944. Reports were received that the area was being heavily shelled by everything the Germans had, and although most of the US infantry forces withdrew from the town, Lieutenant Fox and members of his observer party remained behind on the second floor of a house, directing defensive fires. Lieutenant Fox reported at 0800 hours that the Germans were in the streets and attacking in strength. He called for artillery fire increasingly close to his own position. He told his battalion commander, "That was just where I wanted it. Bring it in 60 yards!" His commander protested that there was a heavy barrage in the area and the bombardment would be too close. Lieutenant Fox gave his adjustment, requesting that the barrage be fired. The distance was cut in half. The Germans continued to press forward in large numbers, surrounding the position. Lieutenant Fox again called for artillery fire with the commander protesting again, stating, "Fox, that will be on you!" The last communication from Lieutenant Fox was, "Fire It! There's more of them than there are of us. Give them hell!" The bodies of Lieutenant Fox, and his party were found in the vicinity of his position when his position was retaken. This action, by Lieutenant Fox, at the cost of his own life, inflicted heavy casualties, causing the deaths of approximately 100 German soldiers, thereby delaying the advance of the enemy until infantry and artillery units could be reorganized to meet the attack. Lieutenant Fox's extraordinarily valorous actions exemplify the highest traditions of the military service.'

The Shaw team made a thorough study and analysis of the Medal of Honor award process. During the war, the War Department, in an effort to reserve the medal for truly extraordinary acts, and to apply the same rules uniformly across several theatres of war, had reserved for itself final authority for accepting or disapproving a Medal of Honor nomination. (Awards below the Medal could be authorised independently by commanders in the theatres and commands.) A recommendation for the Medal of Honor had to be forwarded to Washington, even if a field commander disapproved of it. A War Department Decorations Board would then evaluate the nomination and recommend approval or disapproval to the Chief-of-Staff and Secretary of War.

However, although this was the theory, practice was different. The Shaw team found that War Department regulations contained ambiguities of language which unintentionally permitted variations amongst the different theatres and commands. Also, documents revealed a lack of clarity in recommendation processing procedures which, coupled with the actions of a few commanders, prevented some cases from reaching the War Department. For example, it was initially not clear to all commanders that they had to pass on all recommendations, regardless of their own opinion of them. General Douglas MacArthur, the Southwest Pacific Theater Commander, withheld from the War Department Medal of Honor recommendations that he disapproved and released them only after the fighting ended, after two formal request from Washington and a visit to his headquarters by a General Staff officer. Similarly, processing irregularities in the Mediterranean Theater prevented some Fifth Army Medal of Honor recommendations from ever reaching Washington.

Another problem was the difficulty of distinguishing among the degree of heroism which each of the three top awards — the Medal of Honor, DSC and the Silver Star — intended to recognise. The definition of each award was quite general and often overlapping. For example, 'gallantry' was needed for both the Medal of Honor and the Silver Star, and all three awards required 'heroism'. Furthermore, the Medal required 'incontestable proof' in the form of eyewitness testimony, and the officer initiating the recommendation had to have 'personal knowledge' of the heroic act. However, the number of witnesses required was never specified, and whether 'personal knowledge' meant that the officer had to have witnessed the act himself was never clarified. The Shaw team found that, in practice, the dividing line between the bravery required for a Medal of Honor and that for a DSC was indistinct and very much a matter of interpretation.

The Shaw researchers found no explicit, written evidence in official documents proving that black soldiers were discriminated against in the awarding of medals in general or the Medal of Honor in particular. However, evidence from other sources indicated that racial bias did influence the matter. In one of the interviews, the wartime Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War for Negro Affairs, Truman K. Gibson, testified that the climate of racism and segregation in the Army was the cause for no black soldier being awarded the Medal of Honor. Analysis of contemporary newspapers showed that the African-American press at the time certainly complained about the problem. Also, many black veterans then and now insist that there were informal unwritten policies at the unit level that no black should win the Medal of Honor. After the war, the Army stated that medals were awarded without knowledge of race, but this was patently false for the personal files assembled for each individual decoration case clearly identified the nominee's race.

Arlene Fox receives the medal awarded to her husband, John Fox, who was killed on December 26, 1944, while calling in artillery strikes on his own position while being engulfed by Germans.

After the White House ceremony, Army Chief-of-Staff General Dennis Reimer hosted another ceremony at the Pentagon's Hall of Heroes for the induction of the seven new Medal of Honor recipients. Pictured behind Reimer is former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Colin Powell; Secretary of the Army, Togo D. West, Jr.; and family members of the honorees. (US Army)

The 92nd Infantry Division was one of two 'all-black' divisions to serve in combat during the war (the other was the 93rd which served in the Pacific). Activated in October 1942 and deployed to Italy, the division's first unit, the 370th Regimental Combat Team, arrived in Naples in July, receiving its baptism of fire on the Arno river on August 27. The 371st Infantry arrived in October and the 365th in November. A fourth regiment, the 366th, which had been doing air-base guard duties in Italy since May, was attached to the 92nd on November 30. Assigned responsibility for the Fifth Army's left flank, on the Ligurian coast, the 92nd Division, commanded by Major General Edward M. Almond, suffered several defensive debacles and offensive failures, notably in the Serchio valley around Christmas 1944 (when the 366th broke in panic under a limited counter-attack) and, again, in February 1945. By March 1945, in a wholesale reorganisation, the 365th and 366th were made reserve regiments, their men used to fill up the ranks of the 370th, and the 371st was removed from the division and placed under Army control elsewhere. In their place came the 442nd Infantry (Japanese-Americans) and the 473rd Infantry (converted from white anti-aircraft units). In this new set-up, no longer an 'all-black' formation, the division fought till the end of the war, capturing La Spezia and Genoa. Two of the new Medal of Honor winners served in the 92nd Division — 1st Lieutenant John Fox in the 366th Infantry, and 1st Lieutenant Vernon Baker in the 370th.

Citation: 'First Lieutnant Vernon J. Baker distinguished himself by extraordinary heroism in action on 5 and 6 April 1945. At 0500 hours on 5 April 1945, Lieutenant Baker advanced at the head of his weapons platoon, along with Company C's three rifle platoons, toward their objective: Castle Aghinolfi, a German mountain strong point on the high ground just east of the coastal highway and about two miles from the 370th Infantry Regiment's line of departure. . . . In reconnoitering for a suitable position to set up a machine gun, Lieutenant Baker observed two cylindrical objects pointing out of a slit in a mount at the edge of a hill. Crawling up . . . he stuck his M-1 into the slit and emptied the clip, killing the observation post's two occupants. Moving to another position . . . Lieutenant Baker stumbled upon a well-camouflaged machine gun nest, the crew of which was eating breakfast. He shot and killed both enemy soldiers. After Captain John F. Runyon, Company C's commander, joined the group, a German soldier appeared from the draw and hurled a grenade which failed to explode. Lieutenant Baker shot the enemy soldier twice as he tried to flee. Lieutenant Baker then went down into the draw alone. There he blasted open the concealed entrance of another dugout with a hand grenade, shot one German soldier who emerged after the explosion, tossed another grenade into the dugout and entered firing his sub-machine gun, killing two more Germans. As Lieutenant Baker climbed back out of the draw, enemy machine gun and mortar fire began to inflict heavy casualties among the group of 25 soldiers, killing or wounding about two-thirds of them. When expected reinforcements did not arrive, Captain Runyon ordered a withdrawal in two groups. Lieutneant Baker volunteered to cover the withdrawal of the first group, which consisted of mostly walking wounded, and to remain to assist in the evacuation of the more seriously wounded. . . . Lieutenant Baker's fighting spirit and daring leadership were an inspiration to his men and exemplify the highest traditions of the military service.'

General Reimer talks with Vernon Baker and Sergeant Major McKinney after the official ceremony. By the Medal of Honor act as amended on October 18, 1978, each recipient of the Medal is entitled to have his name entered on the Medal of Honor Roll, to receive a pension of $200 per month for life, to free transportation on military aircraft within the continental United States and for his children to be admitted to the US Military Academy without regard to quota. Enlisted recipients who retire after 20 years of service are eligible for a 10 per cent increase in their retirement pay. Interviewed after the ceremony, Baker said: 'I was a soldier and we had a job to do and we did it. I never thought about getting any medal. I was just an angry young man at the time about the racial injustices we faced. I knew things would get better and I'm happy here to see it.'

The 761st Tank Battalion (Colored) was the only 'all-black' tank unit deployed to Europe in World War II (six of its 36 officers were white). Activated on April 1, 1942, it landed in Normandy on October 10, 1944, and was assigned to the US Third Army, seeing its first action on November 7 with the 26th Division. The battalion fought with Third Army in the Ardennes, participating in the relief of Bastogne, and into Germany. By war's end, its members had won 11 Silver Stars and 69 Bronze Stars. One of the Silver Star winners, Staff Sergeant Ruben Rivers, has now been made the 761st's only Medal of Honor recipient. He was also the only one of the seven new Medals of Honor to receive the medal not as an upgrade from an earlier decoration, but as a reward for another act of heroism previously unrecognised. Citation: 'Staff Sergeant Ruben Rivers distinguished himself by extraordinary heroism in action during 16-19 November 1944, while serving with Company A, 761st Tank Battalion. On 16 November 1944, while advancing toward the town of Guebling, France, Staff Sergeant Rivers' tank hit a mine at a railroad crossing. Although severely wounded, his leg slashed to the bone, Staff Sergeant Rivers declined an injection of morphine, refused to be evacuated, took command of another tank, and advanced with his company into Guebling the next day. Repeatedly refusing evacuation, Staff Sergeant Rivers continued to direct his tank's fire at enemy positions beyond the town through the morning of 19 November 1944. At dawn that day, Company A's tanks advanced toward Bourgaltroff, their next objective, but were stopped by enemy fire. Captain David J. Williams, the company commander, ordered his tanks to withdraw and take cover. Staff Sergeant Rivers, however, radioed that he had spotted the German anti-tank positions: "I see 'em. We'll fight 'em!" Staff Sergeant Rivers, joined by another Company A tank, opened fire on enemy tanks, covering Company A as they withdrew. While doing so, Staff Sergeant Rivers' tank was hit, killing him and wounding the rest of the crew. Staff Sergeant Rivers' fighting spirit and daring leadership were an inspiration to his unit and exemplify the highest traditions of military service.'

The Shaw team could find no official evidence in the archive records documenting that a black soldier had been nominated for the Medal of Honor during the war. However, other evidence, such as statements from memory by individuals interviewed for the project and review of contemporary letters and writings, revealed that four blacks may have been recommended for the Medal. The men involved were Staff Sergeant Ruben Rivers, 1st Lieutenant Vernon J. Baker, Corporal Waverly B. Woodson and Staff Sergeant Edward A. Carter, Jr. In the case of Rivers, who served in Company A of the 761st Tank Battalion (Colored) in North-West Europe, his white company commander, former Captain David Williams, stated that he had personally put Rivers up for the Medal in 1944. In the case of Baker, who was with the 92nd Division in Italy, a company clerk testified that he had typed a Medal of Honor nomination for him in 1945. In one case, circumstantial evidence indicated that the recommendation may have been stopped by the acting battalion commander on racial grounds. (Of the four men, Baker and Carter eventually received the DSC).

Although the Shaw team could find no explicit, official documentation for racial bias in the awards process for the Medal of Honor, they concluded that the failure of a black soldier to win the Medal most definitely lay in the racial climate and practice within the Army during the war.

Firstly, because the black units were seen as less effective and efficient — itself the result of racial segregation and its side effects: bad relations between officers and men, undermined morale, flawed training — they were less sought after by higher commanders for use in the field.

Secondly, because the Army assumed that African-Americans were inherently inferior as fighting soldiers, they were at first relegated primarily to service and support roles, serving in ordnance, quartermaster, service-truck and bridge units. This policy was later changed and black combat units activated, but the nett effect was that black soldiers had far less chance to experience combat and thus win awards for valour than their white compatriots.

Thirdly, within the 92nd Division — the largest black unit and the one to spend most time in combat — key commanders, all white, were most definitely racially prejudiced. Throughout the division's eight months in Italy, they consistently attributed the division's poor performance to the black soldiers' inherent inability to perform effectively under fire, lack of pride and fear of combat, and to a lack of initiative, aggressiveness, dependability and responsibility on the part of black officers and NCOs, without considering other explanations, including white commanders' own policies, actions or racial attitudes. These views undoubtedly prejudiced judgement and objectivity about black soldiers' heroism, and this quite likely explains why not a single black officer or soldier in the division was nominated for the Medal of Honor. The only man recommended for the Medal by the 92nd was a white company commander whose black platoon leader in the same fight acted demonstrably more courageously and inflicted far more damage on the enemy (both men received the DSC).

In the Pacific, the black 93rd Division and 24th Infantry Regiment were mostly used for garrison duty and mopping-up operations on

Citation: 'Lieutenant Charles L. Thomas distinguished himself by extraordinary heroism in action on 14 December 1944. One platoon of Company C, 614th Tank Destroyer Battalion, was designated as the leading element in a task force formed to storm and capture the village of Climbach, France. Lieutenant Thomas, the commanding officer of Company C, realized, with the obscurity of information regarding the enemy and a complete lack of reconnaissance, the mission would be an extremely dangerous one. Fully cognizant of the danger, Lieutenant Thomas volunteered to command the selected platoon of his company and ride in the column's leading vehicle, an M-20 scout car. Lieutenant Thomas knew that if there was a concentration of enemy armor in the village, as was believed, he would absorb the initial shock of the first enemy resistance. The task force left Preuschdorf, France, at 1023 hours, and proceeded to advance toward Climbach. Lieutenant Thomas in his scout car stayed well in front of the column. At 1400 hours, upon reading the high ground south-east of the village, Lieutenant Thomas experienced initial contact with the enemy. As his scout car advanced to an exposed position on the heights, he received intense direct fire from enemy artillery, self-propelled guns, and small arms at a range of 700 yards. The first burst of hostile fire disabled the scout car and severely wounded Lieutenant Thomas. He immediately signaled the column to halt. Before leaving the wrecked vehicle, Lieutenant Thomas and the crew found themselves subjected to a veritable hail of enemy fire. Lieutenant Thomas received multiple gunshot wounds in his chest, legs, and left arm. In spite of the intense pain, Lieutenant Thomas ordered and directed the dispersion and emplacement of his first two anti-tank guns. In a few minutes these guns were effectively returning the enemy fire. Realizing that it would be impossible for him to remain in command of the platoon because of his injuries, Lieutenant Thomas then signaled for the platoon commander to join him. Lieutenant Thomas then thoroughly oriented him as to the enemy gun positions, his ammunition status, and the general situation. . . . Throughout the action, Lieutenant Thomas displayed magnificent personal courage and a complete disregard for his own safety. His extraordinary heroism spurred the soldiers of the platoon to a fierce determination to triumph, and resulted in a mass display of heroism by them. Lieutenant Thomas' intrepid actions throughout the operation reflect the highest traditions of military service.'

Citation: 'Private George Watson distinguished himself by extraordinary heroism on 8 March 1943, while serving in the Pacific Command with the 2nd Battalion, 29th Quartermaster Regiment, near Porlock Harbor, New Guinea. Private Watson was onboard a troop ship, the Dutch Steamer (United States Army Transport) *Jacob*, when it was attacked and hit by enemy bombers. Before it sank, the ship was abandoned. Private Watson, instead of seeking to save himself, remained in deep waters long enough to assist several soldiers who could not swim to reach the safety of a life raft. This heroic action, which subsequently cost him his life, resulted in saving the lives of several of his comrades. Weakened by continuous physical exertion and overcome by muscular fatigue, Private Watson drowned when the suction of the sinking ship dragged him beneath the surface of the swirling waters. . . . Private Watson's extraordinarily valorous actions, his daring and inspiring leadership, and his self-sacrificing devotion to his fellow man exemplify the finest traditions of military service.'

No portraits are available for PFC Willy James and Private George Watson. Pictures of James were lost when his widow moved back to Kansas from California, and the Army authorities were unable to trace any photos of Watson. Apart from the lack of black Medals of Honor recipients, there is also a distinct lack of photography of black soldiers in action in US official files. These black artillerymen were pictured emplacing a 155 mm M1 Howitzer in a camouflaged position.

islands captured by other units earlier, and thus had relatively little chance to experience combat. And although some of the black combat support units performed extremely hazardous duties (at Iwo Jima in February 1945, 14 of the 19 Silver Stars awarded to the three Army DUKW companies were won by black soldiers), none of them produced a Medal of Honor nomination.

When, after about eight months of research, the Shaw team had not found a single reference in the official records documenting a black nominee for the Medal of Honor, the Army requested the team to turn their attention to finding black recipients of the DSC. Until then, only six black soldiers were publicly known to have won the DSC during World War II, but the Shaw team uncovered another three. The nine men were: 1st Lieutenant Vernon J. Baker, Staff Sergeant Edward A. Carter, Jr; Staff Sergeant Leonard E. Dowden; 1st Lieutenant John R. Fox; PFC Willy F. James; 1st Lieutenant Robert J. Peagler; 1st Lieutenant Charles L. Thomas, PFC Jack Thomas, and Private George Watson.

The DSC was often referred to as 'the Negro Medal of Honor' by black World War II veterans because of their conviction that the very few black soldiers who got it actually deserved the Medal of Honor. Indeed, the Shaw commission found that there seemed to be a general understanding during the war that the DSC was the highest award worthy of a black man's bravery.

On the basis of its findings and conclusions, the Shaw team recommended that the Army consider for elevation to the Medal of Honor the nine DSCs earned by black soldiers in the war, and also that Sergeant Ruben Rivers, who may have been nominated for the Medal in 1944 but received no recognition for the heroism that caused his death (he had been given the Silver Star, but for another action which had occurred eight days earlier), be also awarded the same decoration.

Such corrective action, so the Shaw team advocated, had several compelling prece-

Citation: 'Private First Class Willy F. James, Jr. distinguished himself by extraordinary heroism at the risk of his own life on 7 April 1945 in the Weser river valley, in the vicinity of Lippoldsberg, Germany. On 7 April 1945, Company G, 413th Infantry, fought its way across the Weser river in order to establish a crucial bridgehead. The company then launched a fierce attack against the town of Lippoldsberg, possession of which was vital to securing and expanding the important bridgehead. PFC James was first scout of the lead squad in the assault platoon. The mission of the unit was to seize and secure a group of houses on the edge of town, a foothold from which the unit could launch an attack on the rest of the town. Far out in front, approximately 150 yards ahead of his nearest comrade, PFC James was the first to draw enemy fire. His platoon leader came forward to investigate, but poor visibility made it difficult for PFC James to point out the enemy positions with any accuracy. PFC James volunteered to go forward to fully reconnoiter the enemy situation. Furious crossfire from enemy snipers and machine guns finally pinned down PFC James after making his way forward approximately 200 yards across open terrain. Lying in an exposed position for more than an hour, PFC James intrepidly observed the enemy's positions which were given away by the fire PFC James was daringly drawing upon himself. Then, with utter indifference to his personal safety, in a storm of enemy small arms fire, PFC James made his way back more than 300 yards across open terrain under enemy observation to his platoon positions, and gave a full, detailed report on the enemy disposition. The unit worked out a new plan of maneuver based on PFC James' information. The gallant soldier volunteered to lead a squad in an assault on the key house in the group that formed the platoon objective. He made his way forward, leading his squad in the assault on the strongly-held enemy positions in the building and designating targets accurately and continously as he moved along. While doing so, PFC James saw his platoon leader shot down by enemy snipers. Hastily designating and coolly orienting a leader in his place, PFC James instantly went to the aid of his platoon leader, exposing himself recklessly to the incessant enemy fire. As he was making his way across open ground, PFC James was killed by a burst from an enemy machine gun. PFC James' extraordinarily heroic action in the face of withering enemy fire provided the disposition of enemy troops to his platoon. This key information enabled the platoon to execute a flanking maneuver. Inspired to the utmost by PFC James' self-sacrifice, the platoon sustained the momentum of the assault and successfully accomplished its mission with a minimum of casualties. PFC James contributed very definitely to the success of his battalion in the vitally important combat operation of establishing and expanding a bridgehead over the Weser River. His fearless, self-assigned actions, far above and beyond the normal call of duty, exemplify the finest traditions of the American combat soldier. . . .'

In the European Theater of Operations, by the end of June 1944 there was a total of 140,656 black personnel assigned to combat and service organisations. This is obviously a posed publicity shot taken 'somewhere in England'.

Citation: 'Staff Sergeant Edward A. Carter, Jr. distinguished himself by extraordinary heroism in action on 23 March 1945. At approximately 0830 hours, near Speyer, Germany, the tank upon which Staff Sergeant Carter was riding received bazooka and small arms fire from the vicinity of a large warehouse to its left front. Staff Sergeant Carter and his squad took cover behind an intervening road bank. Staff Sergeant Carter volunteered to lead a three-man patrol to the warehouse where other unit members noticed the original bazooka fire. From here they were to ascertain the location and strength of the opposing position and advance approximately 150 yards across an open field. Enemy small arms fire covered this field. As the patrol left this covered position, they received intense enemy small arms fire killing one member of the patrol instantly. This caused Staff Sergeant Carter to order the other two members of the patrol to return to the covered position and cover him with rifle fire while he proceeded alone to carry out the mission. The enemy fire killed one of the two soldiers while they were returning to the covered position, and seriously wounded the remaining soldier before he reached the covered position. An enemy machine gun burst wounded Staff Sergeant Carter three times in the left arm as he continued the advance. He continued and received another wound in his left leg that knocked him from his feet. As Staff Sergeant Carter took wound tablets and drank from his canteen, the enemy shot it from his left hand, with the bullet going through his hand. Disregarding these wounds, Staff Sergeant Carter continued the advance by crawling until he was within 30 yards of his objective. The enemy fire became so heavy that Staff Sergeant Carter took cover behind a bank and remained there for approximately two hours. Eight enemy riflemen approached Staff Sergeant Carter, apparently to take him prisoner. Staff Sergeant Carter killed six of the enemy soldiers and captured the remaining two. . . . Staff Sergeant Carter refused evacuation until he had given full information about what he had observed and learned from the captured enemy soldiers. This information greatly facilitated the advance on Speyer. Staff Sergeant Carter's extraordinary heroism was an inspiration to the officers and men of the Seventh Army, Infantry Company Number 1 (Provisional) and exemplify the highest traditions of the military service.'

dents. When at the end of World War I, General John I. Pershing learned that only four Medals of Honor had been awarded by the time of the Armistice, he ordered a review of all DSC winners to see if they merited upgrade to a Medal of Honor. This resulted in 78 additional Medals of Honor. Similarly, in 1943, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, then the North-African Theater Commander, instructed the US Fifth Army to review a number of DSCs for a similar upgrade because he felt the number of Medals of Honor in his theatre was not in proportion to that in other theatres. Of the six candidates forwarded to Washington as a result, four were approved for the Medal of Honor.

Shaw University's ten recommendations were put before a board of generals at the Pentagon, and they selected seven from the list. They were:

2nd Lieutenant (later 1st Lieutenant) Vernon J. Baker of St Maries, Idaho, of Company C, 370th Infantry of the 92nd Division for an action on April 5-6, 1945, near Viareggio in Italy;

Staff Sergeant Edward A. Carter II of Los Angeles, of the US Seventh Army Infantry Company No. 1 (Provisional) for an action near Speyer in Germany on March 23, 1945, while attached to Company D, 56th Armored Infantry Battalion of the 12th Armored Division;

1st Lieutenant John R. Fox of Cincinnati, Ohio, of Cannon Company, 366th Infantry of the 92nd Division for an action on December 26, 1944 in Sommocolonia in Italy;

PFC Willy F. James, Jr, of Kansas City, Montana, of Company G, 413th Infantry of the 104th Division for an action on April 7, 1945, near Lippoldsberg in Germany;

Staff Sergeant Ruben Rivers of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, of Company A, 761st Tank Battalion (Colored) for actions on November 16-19, 1944, near Guebling in France.

1st Lieutenant (later Major) Charles L. Thomas of Detroit, of Company C, 614th Tank Destroyer Battalion (Towed), a unit attached to the 103rd Division, for an action on December 14, 1944, near Climbach in France;

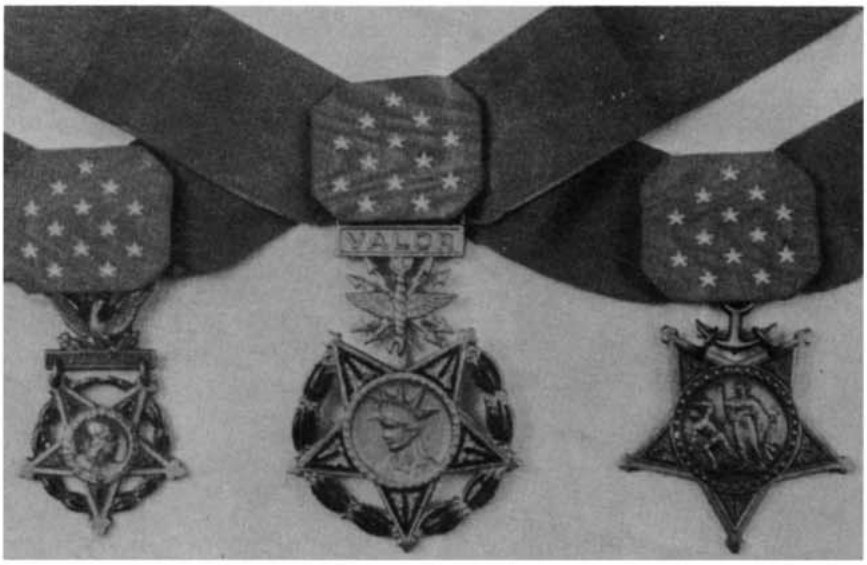
Private George Watson of Birmingham, Alabama, of the 2nd Battalion, 29th Quartermaster Regiment, for an action at sea near Porloch Harbour in New Guinea on March 8, 1943;

Of these seven medals, six were posthumous: four of the soldiers — Carter, Fox, Rivers and Watson — had been killed in the act that was now being honoured; two veterans had died since the war — Carter on January 30, 1963, and James on February 15, 1980; and only one veteran — Vernon Baker — was alive to personally receive the award.

Before the medals could be presented, Congress had to pass special legislation, because the statutory limit for presentation had expired in 1952. The waiver was authorised in October 1996. Such a waiver had a precedent too, for the same had been done in 1991 for the World War I Medal of Honor awarded to black Corporal Stowers.

By late 1944, the US Army had difficulty finding enough replacements for its infantry divisions fighting in Europe — a problem that became acute during the Battle of the Bulge in December. To solve the problem, Eisenhower instituted a programme under which black rear-echelon soldiers could volunteer to get small-unit infantry training and fight in squad, platoon or company strength with previously all-white infantry divisions. By February 1945, 4,562 blacks had volunteered for the programme, some of them even accepting reductions in rank to do so. Two of the new Medal of Honor recipients served in units that had benefited from the programme, PFC James with the 413th Infantry Regiment and Staff Sergeant Carter with the 56th Armored Infantry Battalion. Born in 1917 as the son of missionaries working in China, Carter ran away from home as a teenager and served in the Chinese Army until they discovered he was underage. He then fought on the side of the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War. Returning to the States, he enlisted in the Army on September 26, 1941, becoming a mess sergeant within a year. In 1945, he volunteered for the US Seventh Army Infantry Company No. 1 (Provisional) from where he was attached to Company D, 56th Armored Infantry Battalion of the 12th Armored Division. His Medal of Honor action took place on March 23. He was discharged in September 1945 and died on January 30, 1963. *Above:* **The day after the Medal of Honor award ceremonies, a related ceremony took place when he was reburied with full military honours in Arlington National Cemetery. Carter had originally been interred at Sawtelle National Cemetery in Los Angeles, But after the announcement of his award, his family decided to have him exhumed and transferred to the nation's foremost military cemetery. The eight pallbearers and seven-man rifle-salute party came from the 3rd Infantry Division (The Old Guard).**

In recent months, the Medal of Honor received media attention in another way too. In December 1996, HLI Lordship Industries Inc. of Hauppage, NY, a company making 60 per cent of all US military medals and the sole producer of the Medal of Honor since 1978, was fined $80,000 by the US District Court in Newark, NJ, after admitting to having sold 300 unauthorised copies of the Medal at $75 each to a militaria dealer between 1991 and 1995. The dealer resold the medals at memorabilia shows, until he was caught selling two to FBI agents. Judge William G. Bassler said: 'True Medal of Honor recipients and their families have a right to be outraged by [Lordship's] conduct'. As part of its plea bargain and sentencing, the family-owned firm, which was doing $9 million in business with the government annually, was also to return the $22,500 which it earned from the illegal sales. On December 30, the Pentagon announced that HLI Lordship was barred indefinitely from any future government contracts.



On January 13, 1997, President Clinton presented the medals in a ceremony in the East Room of the White House. Before a crowd of honorees' descendants, top Army officials and members of the Press, Clinton placed the ribbon about the neck of former Lieutenant Baker, now 77 years of age, and presented encased decorations for the six deceased soldiers — five to family members and one (for Private Watson for whom no living family could be traced) to the Sergeant Major of the Army, Gene C. McKinney, on his behalf.

'History has been made whole today', Clinton said in his speech. He recalled the day in August 1945, when President Harry Truman had presented 28 Medals of Honor to veterans of World War II, describing them as a 'great cross-section of the United States'. But though Truman was the one who abolished segregation in the Armed Forces and 'had not a shred of discrimination in his bones', from that cross-section of America, said Clinton, 'something was missing . . . No African-American who deserved the Medal of Honor for his service in World War II received it'. The legacy of segregation and discrimination had long denied the Medal of Honor to any black veteran of that war no matter how deserving. In the end, Clinton said, 'their deeds could not be denied . . . Today, America is profoundly thankful for the patriotism and the nobility of these men . . . They helped us to find a way to become a more just, more free nation . . . more worthy of them and more true to its ideals.' Praising the Army officials who commissioned the study and the Shaw University team who carried it out, Clinton said: 'Your support and painstaking research made this possible. Without it, we would not be able to meet our obligation as a people to an extraordinary group of soldiers to whom we owe the greatest debt'.

Later in the day, General Dennis J. Reimer, the Army Chief-of-Staff, inducted the seven new recipients in the Hall of Heroes at the Pentagon in a ceremony attended by the soldiers' relatives and Secretary of the Army Togo D. West, Jr.

Vernon Baker, interviewed afterwards, said: 'It's a great day. The only thing I can say to those who were not here with me today is "Thank you, fellows. Well done, I'll always remember you."'

Arlene Fox, widow of Lieutenant John Fox, said the award was a vindication not just for her husband and the other men but 'for black people everywhere. A tremendous wrong has been righted.'

THIS WEEK

Company admits selling bogus medals

Medal of Honor society 'disgusted' with firm for its deceptive actions

By Andrew Compart
Times staff writer

Paul Bucha does not like to talk about the reason he received his Medal of Honor. In the modest manner typical of the medal's recipients, Bucha explained he was just doing his job and does not consider himself a hero.

But Bucha, president of the Congressional Medal of Honor Society, was not reluctant to talk about H.L.I. Lordship Industries Inc., the Hauppauge, N.Y., company that has the sole contract for making the

have received it.

Stiffer penalties

...unauthorized or fake Medals ...years.

THIS WEEK ■ UPDATE

Maker of bogus medals wins appeal extension

Firm banned from government deals gets 30 more days to argue its case

By Andrew Compart
Times staff writer

The Long Island company that admitted making and selling 300 unauthorized Medals of Honor has been given more time to appeal its ban from future government contracts.

The Defense Logistics Agency

port Center has 40 open contracts with Lordship for various medals, and Lordship will keep those contracts until the orders are completed.

But the center decided in August it would not enter into any new contracts with the company.

Lordship already had completed the Medal of Honor contract it signed with the center in 1989, making 200 of the medals for

Firm Admits to Medal Flap

■ NEWARK, N.J.—The company that holds the government contract to manufacture the Medal of Honor—the nation's highest combat decoration—admitted it sold 300 unauthorized medals for $75 each.

H.L.I. Lordship Industries Inc. of Hauppauge, N.Y., said it will plead guilty in federal court Nov. 4 to making unauthorized medals and pay up to $225,000 in fines. Under the plea bargain, there will be no further prosecution of Lordship or any individuals, according to its lawyer, Frederick Hafetz.

A8 WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1997

Defense Department won't deal with firm that sold bogus Medals of Honor

Company loses government

dustries had been the government's sole producer of the nation's highest decoration for combat valor, and it manufactured 60 percent of all other U.S. milita... medals.

No new contractor has been selected to produce the medals because the government has a sufficient stock ...

...se Logis... ...lly award ...r compa...

THIS WEEK

Company fined $80,000 for selling fake Medals of Honor

By Andrew Compart
...mes staff writer

The family-owned business with the sole contract for making the Medal of Honor pleaded guilty ...ec. 3 to illegally manufacturing and selling 300 of ...e medals for $75 apiece from 1991 to 1995. The firm, HLI Lordship Industries in Hauppauge, N.Y., was fined $80,000. It also must return ...e $22,500 it made from the illegal sales and ...es resentencing with stricter penalties if it vio... ...al probation." But there ...o indication that it will ... its millions of dollars in ...racts with the Defense ...artment.

...ostor pleads guilty

...e resolution of the ...ship case in Newark, N.J. ...

Stern was sentenced Dec. 3 to one year of proba... tion and 250 hours of community service in a Vet... hospital. He also must run an ad in a general-cir... culation newspaper on Memorial Day and hand-write letters to all 170 living Medal of Honor recipients apologizing for his actions.

The convictions are the result of an 18-month FBI crackdown on the illegal manufacture, sale, trade or use of the nation's highest and most revered military medal. FBI officials said they have active investigations in several states regarding Medal of Honor impostors.

Only 3,401 people have legitimately received the medal since it was created in 1861 to honor people who demonstrate ...

"American heroism is simply not for sale."

Faith S. Hochberg
U.S. Attorney

Medal Manufacturer Fined for Bootlegging

■ NEWARK, N.J.—The company that holds the government contract to make the nation's highest combat decoration was fined $80,000 for selling 300 bootleg Medals of Honor.

H.L.I. Lordship Industries Inc., of Hauppage, N.Y., also will give the government $22,500 it received for illegally selling the bogus medals for $75 apiece at memorabilia shows from 1991 to 1994.

"True Medal of Honor recipients and their families have a right to be outraged by [Lordship's] conduct," U.S. District Judge William G. Bassler said in imposing the maximum fine allowed under federal guidelines.

The family-owned company also could lose its status as a government contractor. Its only business is

Medal Firm Is Debarred By Pentagon

Bogus Awards Sold at Shows

Associated Press

The Pentagon will no longer do business with a contractor that made bootleg Medals of Honor. It also recommended Monday that H.L.I. Lordship Industries Inc. of Hauppauge, N.Y., be denied any other government work.

The company admitted last month that it sold 300 unauthorized copies of the nation's highest combat hon... or to a dealer who sold the medals at memorabili... shows. The company wa... fined $80,000 in U.S. Di... trict Court in Newark.

Lordship has 30 days t... appeal the decision of th... Defense Logistics Agenc... The company makes 60 pe...

In a related case, also in December 1996, Jackie A. Stern, 67, was sentenced at Fort Lauderdale, Florida, to a year's probation and 250 hours of community service in a Veterans Administration hospital for posing as a Medal of Honor winner using one of Lordship's bootleg medals. Among other occasions, Stern had worn it at a parade to honour Gulf war veterans.

ARNHEM VC INVESTIGATION

By Karel Margry

The story of Flight Lieutenant David Lord and how he won his Victoria Cross at Arnhem, by doggedly keeping his burning plane in the air in order to complete his resupply mission before crashing to death, is very well known. Lord and his crew have come to symbolise the heroism and stamina of the RAF crews and RASC despatchers who endured the murderous German flak in their efforts to drop badly-needed supplies to the British airborne troops besieged at Oosterbeek.

There were countless other feats of heroism in the sky over Arnhem in September 1944 but theirs has remained the best remembered, partly because so many veterans had witnessed the unlucky plane and could not forget the sight of it, and because Lord was the only Arnhem VC (out of five) to be awarded to a member of the RAF. Lord's story has been described again and again in books on the battle — and in films: both the 1946 film *Theirs is the Glory* (see *After the Battle* No. 58) and the 1976 movie *A Bridge Too Far* (see No. 17) contain a sequence based on Lord's exploit.

Although the story has been retold many times, the full details of it took years to surface. For example, although Lord's citation had mentioned that there was one survivor, most people believed that the entire crew had perished in the crash and it was only in 1974, when Cornelius Ryan published his *A Bridge Too Far*, that it became generally known that one of them, navigator Harry King, had in fact parachuted to safety.

Another question that remained open for many years was the exact location where Lord's plane, Dakota KG374, had come down. Stories circulating among Battle of Arnhem buffs put the crash site in such places as wide apart as 'near Warnsborn' (the supply dropping zone just west of Arnhem) and 'near the village of Driel' (i.e. south of the Rhine river).

A vital first clue was provided by Jan Hey in the Netherlands when he published his invaluable *Roll of Honour. Battle of Arnhem — 17-26 September 1944* in 1986. The result of years of painstaking research, it lists full name, rank, unit, date of death, location of original field grave, and present burial location (if known) of every individual Allied soldier killed in the Arnhem battle. By giving the approximate location of the Lord crew's field graves — 'north of Wolfheze' (in the kilometre square around Reijers-Camp farm) and 'beside the plane' — Hey provided an important indication as to the general area of the crash site.

Definite proof came only in recent years, from two different sources. First, in the late 1980s, *After the Battle* came into possession of the original notes of the RAF salvage officer who had investigated the wreckage of Lord's Dakota in the summer of 1945. These notes included the exact map reference of the wreck. Then, in March 1994, the Dutch Aircraft Examination Group, one of the more active wreck recovery groups in Holland, confirmed the accuracy of this when they conducted a systematic search of the field adjoining Reijers-Camp farm, and dug up pieces and fragments of what was unmistakably a DC-3 Dakota.

Top: **'Dakota KG374 dropping supplies over Arnhem, Tuesday, September 19, 1944'. If an individual had to be chosen to epitomise the dogged courage and devotion to duty of many RAF Transport Command pilots in the war, then probably no finer example could be found than Flight Lieutenant David Lord** *(above)* **whose heroism at Arnhem won him the Victoria Cross. The painting is by Wilf Hardy.**

David Samuel Anthony Lord was born in Cork on October 18, 1913, as the son of a Warrant Officer in the Royal Welch Fusiliers. His early years were spent in India, where he attended Lucknow Convent School. On the family's return to Britain, he went to St Mary's School at Wrexham, going on to St Mary's College at Aberystwyth and from there to the University of Wales. Ever since childhood, Lord had entertained thoughts of becoming a priest and, on leaving university, he entered the English Ecclesiastical College at Valladolid in Spain. However, his vocation was not as strong as he had thought and he left after two years, returning to Wrexham to take employment as a chemist's assistant. In his spare time, he tried his hand at writing, mainly short stories, and in 1936, encouraged by having several of his stories accepted for publication, he moved to London to work as a free-lance journalist. However, he soon changed his mind, and in September 1936 he enlisted in the RAF as an Uxbridge Cadet, together with his brother Frank. After two years of serving in the ranks, he was selected for pilot training and on October 6, 1938, he was posted to No. 3 Elementary Flying Training School at RAF Hamble, flying Tiger Moths. On January 2, 1939, he transferred to No. 2 FTS Brize Norton for training on Hawker Hart variants, receiving his 'wings' as a Sergeant pilot on April 5, 1939. After advanced training at Brize Norton and an armament course at Warmwell, he embarked for India to be posted to No. 31 Squadron at Lahore on the North-West Frontier, where he arrived on October 7. The squadron was equipped with Vicker Valentias, old biplane transports that were already obsolete but still in service as they were needed to support the Army and RAF units trying to control the insurgent Pathan tribes.

In June 1941, No. 31 Squadron finally received modern replacements for its vintage aircraft in the form of Douglas DC-2Ks and Lord, by now a Warrant Officer, soon qualified as a DC-2K captain. In October, the squadron sent a detachment of eight DC-2s and crews to North Africa to fly support missions for Eighth Army. These missions were not without risk. On December 8, flying a mixed load of nine passengers and 1,500lbs of supplies to an advanced landing strip, Landing Ground No. 138, Lord's plane, DG475, was attacked by three Messerschmitt Bf 109s and forced to land ten miles short of its destination. Though lightly wounded, he gathered his crew and passengers and walked the remaining distance. Next day, he was back in the air.

In February 1942, he returned to India for another spell of transport, supply and communication flights. On April 28, he qualified as captain on C-47 Dakotas, doing the same for C-53 Skytroopers on June 14, and in July he was commissioned as Pilot Officer. By the summer of 1943, No. 31 Squadron was dropping supplies to General Orde Wingate's Chindits amongst the rugged hills behind enemy lines in Burma, a task which required perfect accuracy in navigation, flying and parachute dropping. Lord's skill and the bravery of his crew were recognised by personal recommendations, mentions in dispatches and, for Lord personally, the award of a Distinguished Flying Cross in July 1943.

In January 1944, after five years of continuous operational service overseas, Lord, by then a Flight Lieutenant, returned to Britain to a new posting with another Dakota squadron, No. 271 Squadron of the newly-created No. 46 Group of Transport Command, which was then at RAF Doncaster. Reporting for duty on January 29 after a short home leave, he began training with a new crew. On February 29, the squadron transferred to RAF Down Ampney near Cirencester in Gloucestershire, where training was extended to paratroop-drop and glider-tug training.

Before Arnhem, Lord had served overseas for five years with No. 31 Squadron, most of this time being spent in India and flying supply missions to Brigadier Orde Wingate's Chindits fighting behind Japanese lines in Burma. Here Lord walks down the fuselage of his Dakota during one of the 1943 Chindit missions. Note the Vickers 'K' gun positions on either side of the fuselage, a local modification to the Dakotas made necessary because the resupply sorties were often made without fighter escort. Picture taken by press reporter Philip Vandivert. (courtesy F. Lord)

Down Ampney became No. 271 Squadron's operational base, shared with No. 48 Squadron. Lord's regular crew consisted of Flying Officers Denis C. Ager, second pilot; Douglas I. MacDonell, navigator; and Alec F. Ballantyne, wireless operator.

For the Normandy invasion, Lord and his crew were detached to RAF Blakehill Farm along with nine other Dakotas of 'A' Flight. On the night of June 5/6, D-Day, they flew a load of 6th Airborne Division paratrooper medics — 20 men of No. 2 Section of the 224th Parachute Field Ambulance (assigned to work with 8th Battalion of 3rd Parachute Brigade) — to Normandy. Lord's aircraft was Dakota FZ625 (not KG562 as the squadron Operations Record Book states; this latter aircraft was not delivered to the squadron until June 10). Lord and his crew successfully dropped their stick on DZ-K, six miles east-north-east of Caen near the Bois de Bavent wood, but on the way out flak damaged the plane's rudder, elevator and hydraulic systems. With most of the hydraulic oil lost, the landing gear had to be lowered by hand-pump and Lord had to land back at Blakehill Farm without the use of flaps. He only avoided running off the runway by making a wide arc on the grass as the speed dropped. MacDonell was taken ill on landing and taken to the RAF hospital in Wroughton. Because of all this, Lord was unable to take part in the squadron's second D-Day mission, the towing of 15 Horsas to the Normandy beach-head in the evening as part of Operation 'Mallard', nor in the 'Rob Roy' parachute resupply missions to the airborne troops the following nights.

Lord (with revolver) talks to Wing Commander Bill Burberry, the squadron CO; Squadron Leader Earl Bateman Fielden (with pipe) and Flying Officer Val Bary, RNZAF, at the airbase in India prior to another mission. (courtesy F. Lord)

In early 1944, Lord returned to Britain and joined No. 271 Squadron. On February 29, the squadron's moved to RAF Down Ampney, which it shared with No. 48 Squadron. From here, both squadrons participated in the D-Day airborne landings, and the Arnhem operation. Today, the airfield site has reverted to agricultural use. This is the memorial which stands at the end of the former runway.

During the next weeks, No. 271 squadron flew a continuous round of missions to the Allied bridgehead, bringing supplies in and casualties out. This routine continued until the advent of Operation 'Market Garden'.

On September 17, the first day of the operation, No. 271 Squadron took off from Down Ampney towing 24 Horsa gliders — chalk numbers 219 to 242, carrying troops of the 7th King's Own Scottish Borderers — destined for LZ-S, west of Wolfheze, in serial B-11. Five of the KOSB gliders were released prematurely over Britain, but 19 reached Arnhem. All tug aircraft returned safely to base.

Next day, September 18, No. 271 Squadron again took off with 24 gliders for LZ-S, flying serial B-27. This time, all 24 gliders reached the target. Again, all tugs returned to Down Ampney safely.

Lord's crew during 'Market Garden' included two newcomers. On September 6, less than a fortnight before the operation, Pilot Officer Richard E.H. ('Dickie') Medhurst had replaced Ager as second pilot. Medhurst was the son of Air Vice-Marshal Charles E.H. Medhurst, the commandant of the RAF Staff College, and had joined the squadron fresh from training school and this would be his first operation.

Also, navigator MacDonell had gone on leave to Edinburgh on the 14th to be married, so, immediately after one of the 'Market' briefings, Lord asked a fellow pilot, Warrant Officer David Twiston-Davies, whose aircraft was in reserve and not scheduled to fly, if he could borrow his navigator, Flying Officer Henry A. King. King had done a few glider-tug exercise trips before with Lord, and got on well with him. Twiston-Davis was none too happy about lending out his navigator, but left the decision to King. The latter, torn 'between the devil and the deep blue sea', as he put it, agreed to go.

Several accounts of Lord's exploit say that he, Lord, flew to Arnhem on all of the operation's first three days, September 17, 18 and 19. Harry King certainly suggested so in several of his postwar interviews. For example, when interviewed for Ryan's *A Bridge Too Far*, he dated the briefing at which Lord asked him to join his crew to Saturday, September 16, implying that he already flew with Lord the next day, Sunday, September 17.

In actual fact, Lord did not participate in the first day's mission. The squadron Operations Record Book (ORB) of No. 271 Squadron lists all 24 crews that took part on the

SEPTEMBER	12	DAKOTA III	KG. 514	SELF	P/O. MEDHURST F/O. BALLANTYNE F/O. MACDONELL.	DOWN AMPNEY TO B.56 [EVERE, BRUSSELS] WITH 4500 lbs x 25 lb. SHELLS.
SEPTEMBER	12	DAKOTA III	KG. 514	SELF	P/O. MEDHURST. F/O. BALLANTYNE. F/O. MACDONELL.	B.56. TO DOWN AMPNEY.
SEPTEMBER	12	DAKOTA III	KG. 514	SELF	P/O. MEDHURST. F.O. BALLANTYNE. F.O. MACDONELL. S/LDR. BRIDGEWOOD.	DOWN AMPNEY TO B.60 [BRUSSELS] WITH 4500 lbs. x 25 lb SHELLS.
SEPTEMBER	12	DAKOTA III	KG. 514	SELF	P/O. MEDHURST. F/O. BALLANTYNE. F/O. MACDONELL.	B.60 TO DOWN AMPNEY.
SEPTEMBER	13	DAKOTA III	KG. 374	SELF.	P/O. MEDHURST. F/O. BALLANTYNE. F/O. MACDONELL.	DOWN AMPNEY TO B.58 : 4500 lbs. AMMO.
SEPTEMBER	13	DAKOTA III	KG. 374	SELF.	P/O. MEDHURST. F/O. BALLANTYNE. F/O. MACDONELL.	B.58 TO DOWN AMPNEY.

GRAND TOTAL [Cols. (1) to (10)] 2701 Hrs. 00 Mins.

TOTALS CARRIED FORWARD

Lord's Flying Log Book for September 1944, with the final entry of September 19. This extract also confirms that Lord did not fly on September 17, the first day of Operation 'Market', and only first flew to Arnhem on the 18th. (courtesy F. Lord)

YEAR 1944 MONTH	DATE	AIRCRAFT Type	No.	PILOT, OR 1ST PILOT	2ND PILOT, PUPIL OR PASSENGER	DUTY (INCLUDING RESULTS AND REMARKS)
—	—	—	—	—	—	— TOTALS BROUGHT FORWARD
SEPTEMBER	18	DAKOTA III	KG374	SELF.	P/O. MEDHURST P/O. BALLANTYNE P/O. KING.	GLIDER TUG - CONVEYING 1ST AIRBORNE DIVISION TO HOLLAND.
SEPTEMBER	19	DAKOTA III	KG374	SELF.	P/O. MEDHURST. P/O. BALLANTYNE. P/O. KING.	RE-SUPPLYING 1ST. AIRBORNE DIVISION NEAR ARNHEM — MISSING.

Lord's co-pilot on September 19, Pilot Officer Richard Medhurst, was special in more than one way: he was a newcomer to Lord's crew; new to operational flying; with 19, the youngest aboard; and he was the son of an air vice-marshal, his father being AVM Charles E.H. Medhurst. Born at Fulford Vicarage near York on December 19, 1924, he had gone to Prep school north of London, then on to Bradfield College in Berkshire in 1937. At the outbreak of war in 1939, at age 14, he joined the ATC at Bradfield. After matriculation in 1941, he went to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1942 for a brief six-months wartime course in history. From there, he went to Canada to train for the RAF, continuing his flying training in Arizona. He returned to England early in 1944 and was posted to Transport Command, serving at Broadwell and Fairford, before joining No. 271 Squadron at Down Ampney early in September. His first flight with Lord, a test and familiarisation flight in KG365, took place on September 6. 'Market' was his first operational mission. (via E. Pepper)

The wireless operator aboard KG374 was 25-year-old Flying Officer Alec Ballantyne. Born on September 2, 1919, in Fife in Scotland, Ballantyne had joined the RAF Volunteer Reserve on December 11, 1939. Having attained the rank of Warrant Officer, he had been granted an emergency commission as Pilot Officer (on probation) on November 9, 1943, the day he joined No. 271 Squadron at Doncaster. This provisional commission was confirmed when he was promoted to War Substantive Flying Officer on May 9, 1944. By then, he had moved with the squadron to Down Ampney, and had become a regular member of Lord's crew which further included Pilot Officers Dennis Ager as co-pilot and Doug MacDonell as navigator. On D-Day, June 6, they flew paratroops to Normandy and, by the time of Arnhem, Ballantyne and Lord had been flying together for nearly eight months. By then, Ager had been replaced by Medhurst and, just before the operation, MacDonell went on leave, forcing Lord to look for a replacement navigator. (via E. Pepper)

The only survivor of the fatal flight of September 19 was the navigator, 36-year-old Flying Officer Harry King. Not a regular member of Lord's crew, he had agreed to replace MacDonell and had already flown to Arnhem with Lord the previous day, September 18. King was born in Leeds in 1907, but spent his early years in India where his father was a RSM in the Royal Artillery, returning to England in 1913. In 1925, he joined the 8th King's Royal Irish Hussars, serving in Wiesbaden in occupied Germany from 1926 to 1929. In 1931, he joined the Lancashire mounted police. At the outbreak of war, he wanted to enlist, but it was June 1941 before he found his way into the RAF as a Volunteer Reserve. Trained as a navigator, he was first posted to RAF Lyneham, flying aircraft to the Middle East. In June 1943, he was commissioned and posted to No. 271 Squadron at Doncaster for a rest tour, converting with the squadron to Dakotas at the end of the year and moving with it to Down Ampney in February 1944. (via E. Pepper)

17th, and Lord's is not included among them. Harry King did fly that day, however not with Lord, but with another pilot, Flight Lieutenant C.G. Crawford in Dakota FZ625. Twiston-Davies, said by King to be reserve on the 17th, is also listed as having flown that day, in Dakota KG488. However, he took off as last plane of the squadron, at 1013 — 17 minutes after the other planes in the serial had left — which suggests that he fell in for another tug and was indeed reserve plane that day.

King further confounded the issue by his assertion (repeated in several accounts of Lord's exploit) that they carried a load of paratroops on the 17th. This is clearly inaccurate and cannot be true, for all parachutists of 1st Airborne Division — except the pathfinders (who flew from Fairford in 12 Stirlings of Nos. 190 and 620 Squadrons) — were transported to Arnhem by C-47s of the American 52nd Troop Carrier Wing. All aircraft of No. 271 Squadron towed Horsa gliders on the first day.

The matter is more clear for September 18. There is no doubt that Lord took part and that King was his navigator. The squadron ORB list all 24 crews that took off that day: Lord is included, with Medhurst, Ballantyne and King as his crew; Twiston-Davies is not listed, confirming that he was (again) reserve pilot that day.

To sum up, Lord did not fly on September 17, and only first flew to Arnhem on the 18th; King did not join Lord's crew until the second day, and the briefing at which Lord asked Twiston-Davies to let him borrow King most likely was the one which took place in the afternoon of the 17th. Apparently, the whole confusion is a case of mistaken memory: under the false belief that he had flown with Lord on all three days, King got his whole story mixed up by one day.

Some details of Lord's sortie of September 18 are known. Dakota KG374 took off at 1117 hours and landed back at Down Ampney at 1716. His Horsa, chalk No. 844, piloted by Staff Sergeant F. Rye of E Squadron of the Glider Pilot Regiment, carried men and equipment of the 9th Field Company (Airborne), RE. Through most of the flight, Lord experienced trouble with his starboard engine, but he pressed on nonetheless. German opposition over Arnhem had stiffened considerably and his Dakota came under a hail of flak, resulting in its rear fuselage and tail unit being peppered with shrapnel, but the Horsa glider was successfully released over the landing zone.

For September 19, D+2, No. 271 Squadron was detailed to drop supplies for the 1st Airborne Division. Resupply drops had been included in the 'Market' plans beforehand, but the exact number of planes and loads was not specified, so as to be able to change the schedule according to needs. As a result, squadrons were only notified of such missions at short notice. The supplies were to be dropped on Supply Drop Point (SDP) V, a quadrant of about a quarter-mile of ground just north of the Arnhem-Ede road and less than a mile west of the outskirts of Arnhem (locally known as Warnsborn).

As originally planned, the airborne missions to Arnhem on D+2 were to include the parachute drop of the 1st Polish Parachute Brigade, a Polish glider mission of 35 planes, a 90-plane glider mission bringing in the US 878th Aviation Engineer Battalion (which was to build an airstrip outside Arnhem), and the resupply drop. Late on the 18th, First Allied Airborne Army ordered several changes in the plans. In order to minimise flight over enemy territory, all airborne missions, whether to Eindhoven, Nijmegen or Arnhem, were to take the southern route (via Belgium and up the Eindhoven-Nijmegen corridor); predictions of thick fog over the northern airfields and unbroken clouds over the southern ones in the morning, necessitated that all drops and landings be postponed from 1000 hours to 1500.

In the event, weather conditions on September 19 proved to be much worse than had been forecast. The airfields in the south were relatively clear, but an impenetrable mist completely blanketed the airfields in Essex. Great masses of low cloud persisted over the Channel and the Low Countries. Along most of the route, haze limited visibility to about half a mile. Only around Arnhem itself was the weather relatively good.

The weather severely curtailed the third day's lift. The overcast over the airfields in the Grantham area forced the Polish paratroop planes (and all of the glider lift for the US 82nd Airborne Division) to be postponed. In the south, the gliders for the US 101st Airborne took off, but few reached their destination, many having to cast off prematurely or landing in the wrong place owing to the thick fog. The British were able to send out only the resupply mission and 44 of the gliders (the 35 Polish gliders, plus nine which had failed to reach Arnhem in the first two lifts). The glider lift for the airfield construction unit was postponed because the land on which the strip was to be built had not been won. The resupply mission consisted of 163 planes — 63 Dakotas from four squadrons of No. 46 Group and 100 Stirlings from six squadrons of No. 38 Group — taking off from five different airfields.

At Down Ampney, although the crews only received their briefing for a supply drop at the last minute, No. 271 Squadron was in the air within one and a half hours of being alerted. It sent off 17 Dakotas, each loaded with 16 panniers with food supplies. Lord's aircraft, Dakota III KG374, took off at 1335 hours with Lord, Medhurst, Ballantyne and King. (The squadron ORB mistakenly listed MacDonell, the man on leave in Scotland, instead of King as fourth man — someone later discovered the mistake and inserted a handwritten correction.)

In addition to the crew, the plane now carried four despatchers from the Royal Army Service Corps (RASC) whose task it was to manhandle the panniers down the fuselage to the open door. They were Corporal Philip E. Nixon and Drivers Leonard S. Harper, James Ricketts and Arthur Rowbotham, all of 63rd (Airborne) Composite Company, RASC. (Organically, the 63rd was the air-despatch unit of the 6th Airborne Division and normally operated with No. 38 Group, but now it was assigned to 1st Airborne with some of its despatchers flying with No. 46 Group.)

Lavish air support by British and American fighters and fighter-bombers had again been planned but owing to the widespread bad weather, very little of it materialised. Very few of the promised escort and cover Spitfires of Air Defence Great Britain showed up between England and Belgium. Eighth Air Force P-47s, assigned to anti-flak work south of 's-Hertogenbosch, were unable to make any sorties. Responsibility for flak neutralisation beyond 's-Hertogenbosch and around Nijmegen and Arnhem rested with US Ninth Air Force units based in Northern France. Due to the weather, few of the 171 aircraft dispatched for this purpose reached the front, and fewer were able to penetrate the clouds and haze to attack enemy ground positions. Thus, many German flak batteries were left unharmed.

The resupply planes crossed the Channel above low cloud in stream formation. As visibility worsened, the stream disintegrated and crews realised that this would be an individual job. With 10/10th cloud up to the Target Rendezvous (TRV) near 's-Hertogenbosch and thick haze at regular intervals after that, Harry King navigated by 'Gee', not by 'dead reckoning'. He was unable to make a visual fix on the coast as they made landfall. Fortunately, no enemy fighters showed up, but the squadron experienced flak in the area of the TRV. A few minutes before 3 p.m., King told Lord to descend. As they broke cloud, he heard Lord call back: 'Cock on, Harry! There's Nijmegen'.

Approaching Arnhem from the south in the main stream of supply planes and in improving weather, the aircraft was about 1,500 feet loosing height in readiness for the drop when, some 6-8 miles from the target, it was hit twice on the starboard wing. A thin trail of smoke, then the engine burst into flames.

Lord immediately came on the air to ask if any one was hurt, but King called back that he was alright and Ballantyne reported himself and the four RASC men OK. Lord then asked King how far they were from the DZ.

'Three minutes flying time', King called back.

Lord then stated that, as they were so close, he was going to drop but that the crew were to prepare to bale out. King heard him instruct co-pilot Medhurst to attend to the switches for the starboard engine and try to extinguish the fire. Any pilot in these circumstances would have been amply justified if he had turned out of the stream and abandoned the aircraft, but Lord chose to carry on and deliver the badly-needed supplies to the ground troops.

In charge of the RASC air despatchers aboard KG374 on September 19 was 29-year-old Corporal Philip Nixon. Born on June 23, 1915, in Oldham, Nixon attended Waterloo School and the local Sunday school. A keen sportsman and soccer player, his other hobby was rebuilding old motorbikes, and on leaving school, he had signed on as an apprentice motor mechanic with a local firm, becoming a driver for a gas meter company in 1936. Called up in 1940, he became a Physical Training Instructor, serving at the 3rd Mobilisation Centre Depot from April 1940, transferring to the 8th AAS Control in March 1942, and then to the 63rd (Airborne) Company, RASC, in December 1943. (via E. Pepper)

Since the planned supply drop point was still in enemy hands, 1st Airborne Division at Oosterbeek had made every effort to deflect the resupply mission to a safe point just north-west of the Divisional Headquarters at the Hartenstein Hotel, but in vain. A message sent to Britain on the 18th had not been

DETAIL OF WORK CARRIED OUT

SECRET

Page No. 5

By 271 Squadron.

For the Month of September 19

Date	Aircraft Type & Number	Crew	Duty	Time Up	Time Down	Details of Sortie or Flight	References.
19.9.44.	Dakota III	P/O Pritchard,E. F/S Holt,A.G.	Re-supply			17 aircraft took off from base with 16 panniers in	
	KG.318	F/O Sherval,A.H. Sgt. Wilson,W.R.		1232	1810	each plane carrying food supplies for the troops at	
						DZ 'V' near Arnhem (Holland).	
	FZ.668	F/O Nicoll,J.R. F/O White,J.C.				The weather was rather poor with 10/10th cloud up	
		W/O Marsden,C.J. F/S Cawse,H.H.		1230	1755	to the T.R.V. improving up to the DZ but thick haze at	
						regular intervals.	
	KG.488	F/L Hollom,P.A.D. SGT Brisk,S.		[illegible]	[illegible]	There was no enemy opposition from the air but crews	
		F/L Riley,F.R. P/O Harvey,G.R.		1233 Forced landing B56	1650	experienced flak in the neighbourhood of the T.R.V. and	
						intense light and medium flak over the DZ. This was	
	FZ.622	F/O Norris,S.E. Sgt Foster,G.				understandable as a report states that the DZ was held	
		F/O Feirce,D.R. F/S McLaughlin,		1232	1759	by the enemy at the time of the drop.	
						The aircraft captained by F/L Hollom was badly	
VC →	KG.374	F/L Lord,D.S.A. P/O Medhurst,R.E.H.	1 F/O N.A. Hay (Steward)			damaged and 7 others received minor damage. F/L Hollom	
		~~F/O McDonell,D.I.~~ F/O Ballantyne,A.F.		Aircraft missing.		force landed at B56 (Brussels Evere) as his port engine	
						was hit. Fortunately no-one was hurt.	
	KG.340	F/L Cooke,J.G. F/S Cloutt,L.M.				14 aircraft returned to base and the planes captained	
		F/O Sargent,J.S. F/O Robertson,H.E.		1233	1750	by F/L Lord and P/O Wilson are reported as missing.	

The No. 271 Squadron Operations Record Book for September 19, 1944, the day of Lord's fatal flight. Note that the original entry had wrongly entered (and mis-spelled) Doug MacDonell, Lord's usual navigator who was away on leave, as flying with Lord that day. Note that also the ORB gives the squadron's supply loads as food panniers, not ammo as is often stated.

Just three days younger than his corporal, Driver Len Harper was also 29 at the time of Arnhem. Born on June 26, 1915, Harper was fostered from a baby by an elderly couple, Mr and Mrs Levett of Harlington. He was educated at Heathrow and Sipson Council School and Harlington Senior School. In 1929, at the age of 14, he went to work at the Aeolian Piano factory in Hayes. When the firm closed down two years later, he signed on as a machinist and fitter apprentice with the Fairey Aviation Aircraft Company. Called up on March 18, 1943, he served with 63rd Infantry Brigade, retraining as an air-despatcher when 63rd Light Composite Company became part of 6th Airborne Division. (via E. Pepper)

RASC Driver James Ricketts was born on April 11, 1917, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he attended Bath Lane Secondary School. At age 14, he left school to join his father in his carting and haulage contractors business. By the time he was 19, he had his own team of Clydesdale horses and was driving his own car. Joining up on March 15, 1940, and assigned to the Royal Army Service Corps, he served with the 296th Ammunition Company, the 61st Division Ammunition Company, the 182nd Infantry Brigade Company and the 63rd Infantry Brigade Company, remaining with it when it was converted to an air-despatch unit. In September 1944, he was 27 years old. (via E. Pepper)

The fourth despatcher was Driver Arthur Rowbotham. Born in May 1917 at Droylsden near Manchester, he had moved with his parents to Oldham when he was about eight. After attending Friezland School in Saddleworth, Yorkshire, he became a delivery driver with Buckleys Bakery and Confectioners at Uppermill. Called up, like James Ricketts, on March 15, 1940, he served in the same RASC ammunition, division, and infantry brigade companies as Ricketts, the last one being 63rd Airborne Composite Company. (We owe much of our biographical information to Eric Pepper who spent a long time researching the background of Lord's crew and despatchers for his 1981 brochure *Arnhem Tribute*.)

received. The airbornes set up a 'Eureka' beacon at the new point (in the water tower on Zonneheuvelweg), but this could only be used intermittently for fear of exhausting the battery and, with the old drop point less than a mile and a half north-east of the new one, the 'Eureka' was of little help since the bleeps on the 'Rebecca' receiver screen in the planes tended to merge when the aircraft came within about two miles of the 'Eureka'. Smoke, panels, and Very lights were also used, but because of the trees surrounding the new SDP an aerial observer would have had to fly almost directly overhead to spot them and, apart from that, aircrews had been specifically instructed to disregard any signals from the ground. In the event, virtually none of the pilots reported seeing any of the visual aids.

The upshot of these communication failures was that the resupply planes headed for the original SDP, crossed the enemy lines at about 1,000 feet through intense flak, and dropped most of the supplies in the Koepel area, just south of the planned target. (The actual name of the area is Boschveld; 'Koepel' refers to a round pavilion which stood on the estate and was marked on British maps.)

Lord's crippled plane was listing heavily to the right and losing altitude rapidly. King was working on the 'Rebecca' homing-in device, but could get no result. When he informed Lord of this, the latter told him not to bother as he could see the DZ from the cockpit and would drop visually.

'Go back and give them a hand with the baskets', Lord said. King picked up his chute, put it on, and went to the rear of the plane to assist the despatchers.

On entering the main fuselage, he found the RASC men were already dropping. By now, the starboard engine was burning furiously, clearly visible to both the crew and the people on the ground. Moreover, the flames had already begun to spread along the wing, toward the main fuel tank.

Angling down to the open door were steel roller tracks along which the heavy supply baskets were to slither down to the open door once the retaining shackles had been undone. When the green light had flashed on, the first pannier had been kicked down. It had moved and then jammed — the flak had damaged some of the rollers. Now, the RASC men were feverishly manhandling the panniers overside. They had taken off their parachutes for easier tugging. King stood by the open door and helped push the baskets out with a kick. But the smoothness of the operation was gone and the top two panniers still remained when the red light, the signal to stop despatching, flashed on. Over the intercom telephone near the doorway, King informed Lord that two panniers remained. Lord instructed the men to stand by as he would go round and make another run in. King and the despatchers had to hang on to the fuselage as Lord put the plane into a steep left bank. Medhurst's chances of extinguishing the fire would have been greatly improved had he and Lord stopped the engine and feathered the propeller. Instead, they kept the engine running to complete their drop.

A vivid eyewitness account of KG374's last minutes comes from a crew member of one of the other aircraft in the supply mission. Flight Lieutenant Stanley W. Lee was the wireless operator in KG392, the lead Dakota of No. 512 Squadron from Broadwell, flown by the squadron CO, Wing Commander Basil A. Coventry. From his position in the aircraft's astrodome, Lee could see what was happening around him. He recalled:

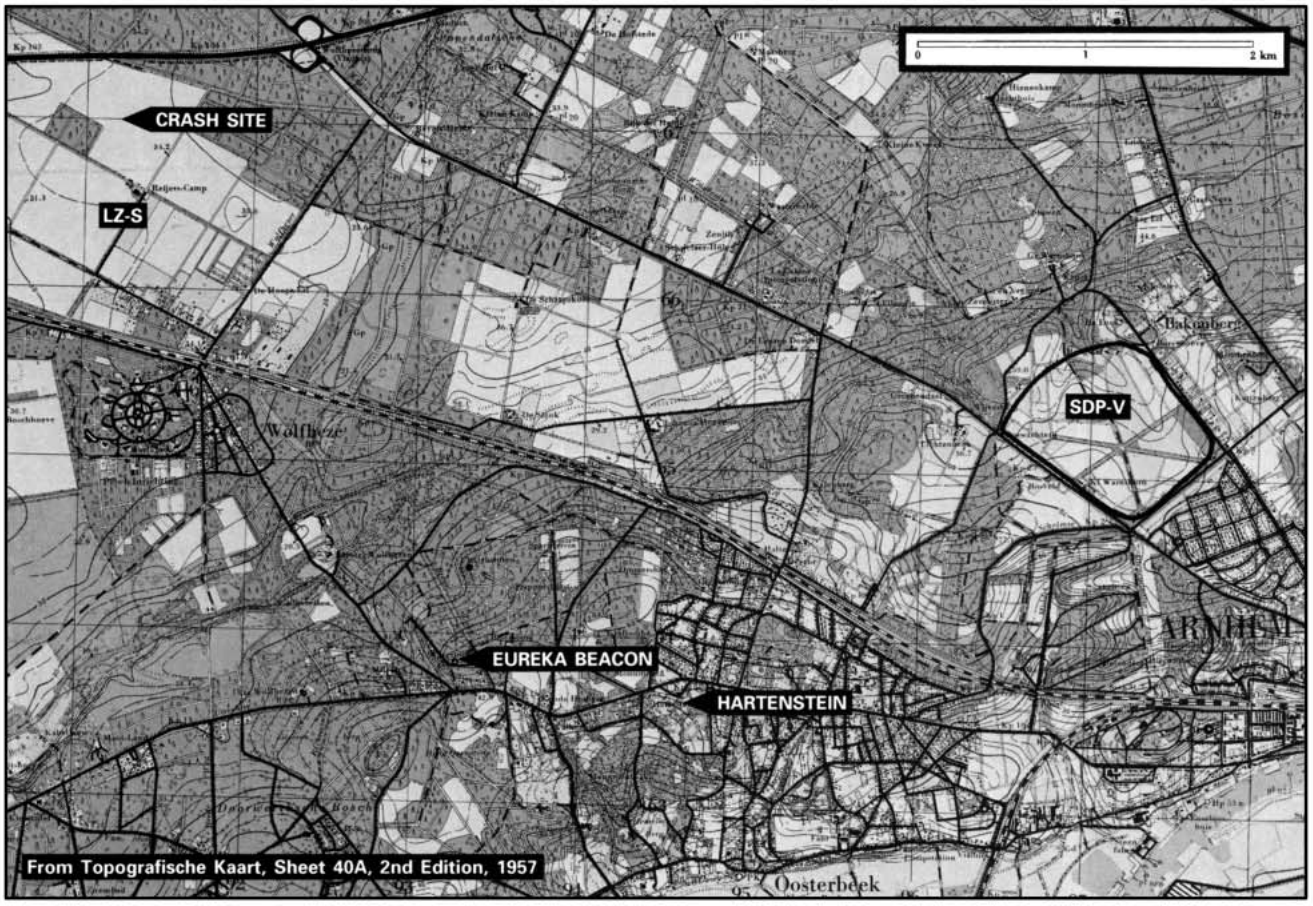
'By the time we got to Dutch territory, there was no real formation — just a collection of No. 46 Group Dakotas all mixed up going the same way. It had been intended that aircraft would drop supplies in vics of three and, as we approached Arnhem, aircraft started to close ranks and arrange themselves in vics of three as arranged. We found ourselves joined by another aircraft whose squadron letters showed it to be from No. 271 Squadron based a Down Ampney, a few miles from Broadway.

'As we approached Arnhem that day, I saw several aircraft being attacked and saw a couple go down. Just before we got to Arnhem itself, I suddenly noticed that the aircraft formating with us, just a few feet from our starboard wing tip, had a fire in its starboard engine. I shouted a warning to my skipper and my first thought was to try to signal the other aircraft to tell him that he had a fire. But this would have been pointless as the fire was so big that there was no way that the pilot could have been unaware that his aircraft was on fire.

'At this point we were over the river and we banked right over the top of the bridge itself to turn half left towards the dropzone. We were low and I had a magnificent view of the bridge and the town. As we turned, so did the other aircraft, sticking to our wing tip as if by glue and I became very alarmed as the fire was obviously out of control and I could see that the aircraft could not continue to fly for very much longer. I was extremely worried that in its final moments it might swerve into us and take us down with it.

'By this time, we were fast approaching the dropzone, flying at a few hundred feet, and slowed down so that our supplies would fall in the small area available. Just before the order to drop was to be given, we were subjected to much light flak and it was clear that the DZ was still in enemy hands as the flak was coming from the dropzone itself.

'There was a hasty conference up front and it was decided to take our supplies to the LZ near Wolfheze where we had taken our glider on the first day [*LZ-S north of the Arnhem-Ede railway*]. So we headed in that direction to have a look and all the time the other aircraft stayed at our starboard wing tip with the fire getting worse. It was obvious that its pilot was fully occupied in keeping



After dropping 14 of his 16 supply panniers on the Supply Dropping Point at Warnsborn, just outside Arnhem, Lord turned his burning plane to make a second run in. Following the example of the Dakotas to which he had tagged on, he then dropped the remaining supplies on Landing Zone S near Wolfheze, six kilometres further to the west.

control of his aircraft and that he was intending to drop his supplies as we dropped ours. *[Apparently, Lee had failed to notice that the other plane had already dropped most of its panniers as they made their run-in over the original SDP.]*

'The new dropzone looked alright and so we did a 360° turn to the left and ran in to drop. We were hit by light flak but eventually the order was given and our supplies thrown out. As soon as our panniers started to go, I saw panniers leaving the other aircraft and I was greatly relieved as I thought it would then be able to crash-land and the crew escape.'

Inside Lord's plane, the green light flashed on for the second time and the last two panniers were pushed out. Over the intercom, King informed Lord, who immediately shouted back: 'Bale out! Bale out! For God's sake, bale out!'

By now the aircraft was only about 500 feet above the ground. Suddenly, the plane lurched violently. Inside, King, who already had his 'chute on, and had just turned to help the despatchers fix theirs when suddenly there was a tremendous 'whoof' and he was flung out of the aircraft. Thrown clear of the plane and hurtling through the air, he instinctively pulled his ripcord.

King: 'I turned to the despatchers to help them. They had been magnificent throughout the operation. Suddenly, I found myself in space with the ground racing up at tremendous speed. All of a sudden, I felt a jerk and I found that I was now floating down.' (...)

'I have no recollection of pulling my chute but next recall landing heavily flat on my back. This only seemed seconds after being flung out of the plane. I looked at my watch and the time distinctly making out as nine minutes since we were first hit. The place I landed after baling out was about 400 yards north of the DZ quite near a farm with a tall water windmill.' (This was the Reijers-Camp farm which lay in the centre of Landing Zone S.)

King never knew if his chute ever opened or not. Officers of the 156th Battalion, who witnessed the plane crash, later told him that when they saw him go down behind some trees his chute was still candling behind him.

Neither did he know whether he was the only survivor. He had not seen the plane after he had been thrown out, and did not know whether any of the others had managed to jump. Nor could he tell where the plane had come down.

From KG392, Stan Lee had watched KG374's last seconds:

'The supplies parachutes were coloured and, as they drifted down, I saw a white parachute falling from the other aircraft, indicating a man. At that moment, as I watched, I saw the other aircraft appear to falter, its nose dropped sharply, the undercart unlocked and the wheels started to come down. It lost some forward speed and fell behind us and, as it did so, I saw the aircraft quite slowly fold in two. The two wing tips came up to meet each other and, just as they touched, the starboard wing broke off at the engine nacelle and seemed to float down like a falling leaf. The rest of the aircraft fell to the ground nose first and partly upside down. As it hit the ground, there was a ball of fire followed by a cloud of black smoke. It was obvious that no one could have survived that crash.'

Dakota KG374 had in fact plummeted to the ground not far from where King had landed. None of the seven others aboard had managed to jump, and all were killed in the crash.

The airborne soldiers on the ground were deeply impressed by the sight of Lord's burning plane completing its mission to the end. Major-General Roy Urquhart, the 1st Airborne divisional commander, wrote: 'It seemed that every anti-aircraft gun in the vicinity was sighted on the crippled aircraft. With its starboard engine blazing, it came through to the dropping zone. At the end of the run, the Dakota turned and made a second run to drop the remaining supplies. From foxholes and slit trenches and from the restricted spaces to which we were trying to attract the pilots; from blasted buildings and ditches and emplacements of rubble and earth, the eyes of hundreds and probably thousands of careworn soldiers gazed upwards through the battle haze. We were spellbound and speechless, and I daresay there is not a survivor of Arnhem who will ever forget, or want to forget, the courage we were privileged to witness in those terrible eight minutes.' (Note that Urquhart does not describe the actual crash — which he could not possibly have seen from where he was at the Hartenstein.)

Lord's plane was not the only one to be lost that day. Out of the 100 Stirlings and 63 Dakotas despatched by Nos. 38 and 46 Groups, no less than 13 were destroyed and 97 damaged, two-thirds of the total. Only 55 aircraft got through unscathed.

Losses in No. 271 Squadron were commensurately high. In addition to KG374, it lost one other plane, Dakota FZ626 piloted by Pilot Officer John L. Wilson, which crashed on a house at Bakenbergseweg 262 in Arnhem. (Of crew and despatchers, four were killed in the crash, one died in an Arnhem hospital, and three became PoW.) Dakota KG488 captained by Flight Lieutenant P.A.D. Hollom was hit in the port engine and so badly damaged that it was forced to land at airfield B-56 (Evere/Brussels) in Belgium. Seven other 271st planes received minor damage.

Immediately afterwards, the plane crashed. It came down north of the Arnhem-Ede railway line and just north-west of Reijers-Camp farm. The wreck can be discerned in this aerial photograph, taken by No. 4 Photographic Reconnaissance Squadron of 2nd Tactical Air Force on February 14, 1945. The numerous black spots are traces of burned gliders, set alight by the Germans when they recaptured the landing zone. The trenches were dug by them later. (Wageningen University)

Ironically, the heroic persistence of the RAF pilots only ensured that their loads would go to the Germans. Out of 388 tons of supplies dropped that day, only 21 tons (less than six per cent) was recovered. Most of this was probably from five planes which had, mistakenly or intentionally, dropped their loads near Wolfheze (among the latter was Lord's plane on its second run) and from an extra couple of Stirlings which had been sent to drop on LZ-L (the Polish LZ around Johannahoeve) and had done so.

After he had landed on the LZ, King lay there for three or four minutes, then raised his head. Shots rang out, and he plogged back down and played dead. Just then, a glider passed overhead, less than 100 feet off the ground. (This was one of nine Horsas carrying loads which had failed to reach Arnhem in the first two lifts; eight were to land on LZ-X and one on LZ-S.) The glider detracted the German fire and this gave King a chance to slip out of his chute and crawl over to a ditch. The right side of his uniform was badly scorched and his shoes had been blown off his feet. Slowly he made his way along the ditch to the Reijers-Camp farm, where he found an abandoned motor bike with a Sten gun over the bars and two magazines of ammo on the seat. Laying nearby was a steel helmet. He put the helmet on, slipped a magazine into the Sten, putting the other in his pocket, and began walking toward the glider he had seen earlier. A few hundred yards away, he saw a crashed Dakota burning, but he did not pay any particular attention to it. As he approached the glider, the occupants began firing at him.

'RAF! RAF!', he shouted, and the firing stopped. The glidermen were unloading a Jeep. According to King, a Captain Elliott of the RAMC was in charge. (Actually, either the unit or the name Elliott must be wrong, for the only officer of that name at Arnhem was Captain J.R. Elliott, Battery Captain 'O' of the 2nd Airlanding Anti-Tank Battery, RA.) King recognised the two glider pilots from either Down Ampney or Blakehill Farm. The glider had two casualties, one of them killed, and King took his boots. By now, his back was really beginning to hurt and he was limping, so he got into the Jeep next to the officer. Two or three others were in the back, the rest was walking. They drove east along a sandy track, then turned right onto a road. About 4 p.m., they joined up with the 10th Battalion near the railway line at Wolfheze. King was given a cup of tea and a bar of chocolate.

'That's all we've got', someone said.

'What do you mean that's all you've got?, said King. 'We've just dropped supplies to you.'

'Sure, you dropped us our tins of sardines, but the Huns got them. We got nothing.'

Lieutenant-Colonel Ken Smyth, the 10th Battalion CO, instructed his adjutant to take King to brigade headquarters. King was optimistic for he figured the airbornes would have a way to fly him out. He was anxious to get back to Britain, for he had a date with his wife that evening. The adjutant shouted 'Garibaldi!' and a jeep drove up. King half expected to see a captured Italian at the wheel, but it was Lance-Corporal Bill Garibaldi, a battalion driver (destined to be killed next day). They drove off down the road but came under heavy mortar fire at a junction and, to King's disappointment, had to return to 10th Battalion HQ. King was put in a slit trench, where he was shortly joined by a Polish airborne with a head wound. That night at 7 p.m., there was a heavy mortar barrage, followed by a German attack. King fired off both his magazines, which left him out of ammunition and feeling very 'naked'.

Reijers-Camp farm today. After parachuting to safety, Harry King made his way to the farm, before joining up with the occupants of a glider that had just come down. They dropped him off at the HQ of the 10th Battalion of 4th Parachute Brigade at Wolfheze, who were still trying to fight their way into Arnhem along the railway line.

Next morning, captured and marched to Ede, King volunteered to disarm a British aircraft bomb which had come down near the Ede railway crossing. *Left:* **Today, the crossing looks totally different, the road now passing underneath the railway and slightly to the east of the old level crossing.** *Right:* **Together with an Airborne captain, King carried the projectile to the yard of the nearby Enka silk factory. King was much amused when he saw the factory's name for, back in 1934, when in the mounted police force, he had helped to break up a big strike at the Enka works in Aintree, Liverpool, and now he was putting a bomb on their doorstep himself! Today, Enka has become part of the Akzo-Nobel concern.**

Next morning, September 20, he was captured, along with three or four other paratroopers who had made their way to a house shortly after dawn. Inside an hour, the Germans had rooted out 50 or 60 more from the woods and other houses. They were made to sit on either side of the railway. A German corporal took his watch and cufflinks and ordered him to help the other PoWs carry the German dead out of the woods. King complained to a German officer who thereupon ordered the corporal to guard him.

By noon, the Germans began marching the PoWs toward Ede along a path on the left side of the railway. Just before the Ede railway crossing, they passed an unexploded bomb laying in the middle of the road. Told to sit down in the cobbled forecourt of a cafe opposite Ede railway station, most men fell asleep. About an hour later, four Germans with Schmeissers came into the yard looking for prisoners to remove the bomb they had seen earlier. King had recognised it as a British 120lbs anti-personnel bomb, a type he had been trained to load in the Middle East, so, when no volunteers came forward, he said he would do it. He was joined by Captain J.L. Brown, an officer of the 1st Forward Observation Unit, RA (Airborne), who was the senior officer leading the PoW group. (Brown had been attached as FOO to the 11th Battalion of the 4th Parachute Brigade.)

King supposed the bomb had been dropped too low resulting in the spinner that drives the plunger into the bomb not having spun deep enough to detonate it. His assumption proved to be right and, fixing the spinner with some telegraph wires, he and Brown dug out the projectile and carried it 100 yards down the road to the courtyard of the Enka silk factory.

Next day, September 21, the group, now grown to some 120 prisoners, was marched to Amersfoort, where they were given some Ersatz coffee and a sausage sandwich and allowed to wash. That night, they were marched to a railway junction to board a train to Germany, but the train did not show up, so they were walked back.

Next night, September 22/23, the train did arrive. Packed into cattle trucks, the prisoners were taken to Wiesbaden, then on to Darmstadt, then back to Wiesbaden. About a week later, they reached Limburg and a few days later were transferred to Frankfurt, where they were put in solitary confinement. King was left alone for three days, then questioned for six straight days by a German interrogator who claimed he had an engineering degree at London University. By the sixth day, King protested violently at his treatment. Shortly after, he was moved to a holding centre north of Frankfurt, where he stayed three days. On October 10, he arrived at Stalag Luft 1 at Barth on the Baltic Coast, where he sat out the remaining months of the war.

While a prisoner, King received a letter from Air Vice-Marshal Medhurst, the father of Lord's co-pilot 'Dicky' Medhurst, who enquired whether he knew anything about the fate of the aircraft and the remainder of the crew. However, there was little King could tell him.

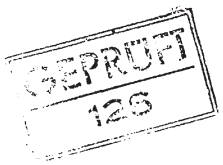
Barth was liberated on May 7 by an American unit, and King was back in Britain on May 13.

Meanwhile, reports of Lord's last flight had been filed by both RAF and airborne witnesses, and this had resulted in the idea to put Lord up for a Victoria Cross. As it happened, the commendation was forwarded on May 13 — the very same day King arrived back home from captivity.

While a PoW in Stalag Luft 1 at Barth on the Baltic, King received a letter from Air Vice-Marshal Medhurst, the father of co-pilot Dick Medhurst. (CRA)

From: C.E.H. Medhurst, Esq.

The White House
BISHOPSTHORPE
York



9th November 1944

Dear King

I am writing to you as the father of Dick Medhurst who was one of your crew on September 19th. I hear from the German wireless that you are a prisoner of war.

I should be most grateful if you could let me have any particulars regarding the reasons why your aircraft failed to return and what you think may have happened to the remainder of the crew, particularly whether you know if they were wounded and whether the aircraft was under control when you left it.

Yours Sincerely
Charles Medhurst

Flying Officer H.A. King, R.A.F.
No. 174666, Royal Air Force
Stalag Luft 1

IDENTIFICATION AND BURIAL.

Shortly after, while still on home leave, King received a request from the Air Ministry to assist in the VC enquiry. In late June or early July (the exact date is unknown), he was flown back to Arnhem to help find the wreck and identify the casualties. He was accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel P.S. Joubert, his squadron CO (who had just taken over from Wing Commander M. Booth); Group Captain Gilbert Howie, the commander of Down Ampney; Flying Sergeant Green, the squadron engineer who had the records of KG374; and a brigadier, a colonel and a major of 1st Airborne Division who had witnessed Lord's exploit the previous September. They landed at Deelen airfield and were given a Humber scoutcar for transport. Arriving at Wolfheze, King directed the party to the site where he had landed and told them the plane was on a 060 north-east heading when he had left it. He also took them to the site of the glider where he had joined up with the airbornes. The ash marks of the burned Horsa were still there. In the adjoining field, less than half a mile away, they found the remains of the Dakota that King had seen burning on the LZ after his parachute landing. All that was left was a mass of burnt-out airframe with the two engines deeply embedded in the ground. One of the engines was dug up, brushed clean, and the engine number corresponded with that of Lord's plane. It was only then that King realised that what he had seen burning had in fact been his own plane.

Not far from the wreck was a small barbed-wire enclosure which looked like it contained several field graves. Dutch workmen were asked to dig up the graves and they were found to contain the bodies of seven men, three in RAF uniform and four in Army clothes. King positively identified Lord from the DFC ribbon he was wearing. A second RAF body contained a collar and tie in the breast pocket of its tunic, and a scarf around the neck. King remembered that Medhurst always took off his collar and tie and put them in his pocket, wrapping a scarf around his neck while flying. The third RAF body had no distinguishing features, but, since it was the only other member of the crew missing, it was assumed to be Ballantyne. The four bodies in khaki clothes were identified as RASC men, but as yet not named.

The party was then taken to the British war cemetery which was in the process of being laid out at nearby Oosterbeek. There they met Captain Long, the commanding officer of the 37th Graves Registration Unit. Long was pointing out the grave sites planned for the crew of the plane.

'This will be Lord's', King heard him say, 'this Medhurst's, this Ballantyne's and this King's.'

'Wait a minute', King said. 'You're being a bit premature. I'm King!'

King had quite a time persuading Long that he was not dead. Even his cross was already up: 'Flying Officer Henry A. King. No. 174666'. Finally convinced of King's story, Long picked up the cross and gave it to one of his men, telling him they would not be needing it.

'It gave me quite a start, I can tell you, to be looking at my own grave', King recalled later.

On his return to Britain, and back on duty at Down Ampney, King wrote out a report, his first, on the loss of KG374, which he submitted to his squadron commander on July 5.

Right: **Oury's notebook (now in the *After the Battle* archive) contains entries concerning the location and other details of KG374. Note that Oury has the despatchers as belonging to 233rd Coy, RASC, instead of 63rd Coy — an error copied from the squadron casualty report.**

Flying Officer Vivian Oury of the 151st Repair Unit, RAF, who investigated the wreck of KG374 in August 1945.

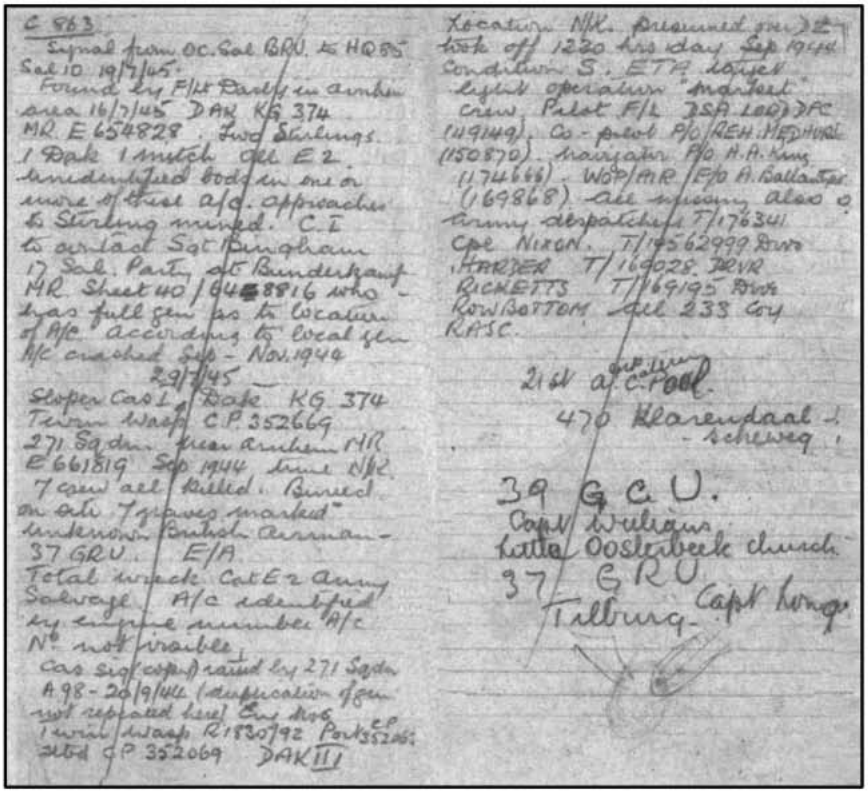
One might think that, after King and the inquiry party dug up and identified the crew, the bodies were immediately transferred to the Oosterbeek cemetery, but this was not the case. In actual fact, the seven bodies were reinterred at the same spot to await further identification and registration (after all, the RASC men had not yet been identified). The only change was that the field graves were now marked with crosses. This becomes clear from a second investigation which took place some time after King's party had left.

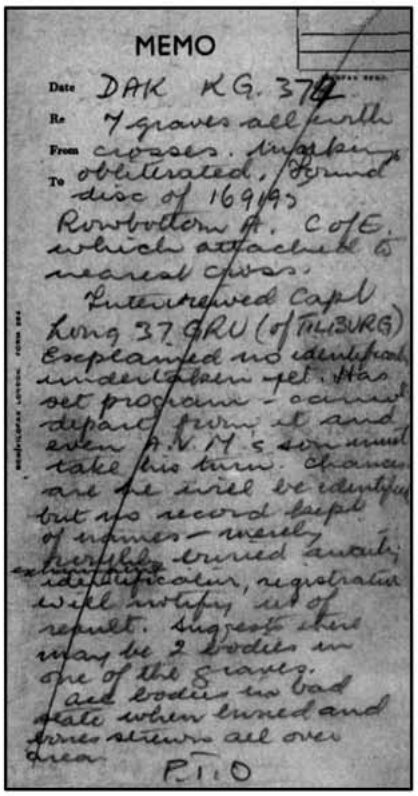
In November 1944, Flying Officer Vivian L. Oury of No. 151 Repair Unit (Aircraft), an RAF unit serving with the British Liberation Army, was detailed to carry out inspections of British aircraft that had come down on the Continent to see whether he could find, recover and possibly identify crew members that had been killed in the crashes. Between November 1944 and August 1946, Oury inspected a total of 142 wrecks: 50 in France, 39 in Belgium, 38 in Holland, and 15 in Germany. These included 32 Lancasters, 19 Spitfires, 14 Typhoons, 13 Halifaxes, 11 Mustangs, 8 Mosquitos, 6 Bostons, 6 Dakotas, 5 Thunderbolts, 4 Stirlings, 4 Liberators, 3 Wellingtons, 3 Ansons, 3 Tempests, 2 Mitchells, 2 Fortresses, 1 Blenheim, 1 Hurricane, 1 Lightning and 4 unidentified. Sometimes Oury visited two or three crash sites in one day, sometimes an investigation took as long as three weeks, but on average one plane required two to four days. In no less than 42 cases, Oury found human remains. Most of the bodies he discovered, either on his own or with the help of RAF salvage personnel or civilians, were identified.

On July 28, Oury received a signal from headquarters informing him that Flying Lieutenant Darby of another salvage unit had on July 16 'found' Dakota KG374 in the Arnhem area at map reference 654828. (Whether Darby had located the plane independently, or acting on information from other agencies, is unknown.) The serial number given to the wreck was No. 863. Two Stirlings, one Dakota and a Mitchell had been found, and unidentified bodies were reported in one or more of these aircraft. For full information as to the aircrafts' precise location, Oury was to contact a Sergeant Bingham of the 17th Salvage Unit at the Buunderkamp Hotel, located on the edge of the woods bordering the former LZ-S near Rijerskamp.

Next day, Oury received additional information on KG374: first, a correction of its location: the map reference was not 654828 but 661819. The aircraft was reported to be from No. 271 Squadron and to have crashed in September 1944. The wreck was a complete write-off. At the site were seven graves marked 'unknown British airmen'. The aircraft number was not visible, but the wreck had been identified as being that of KG374 by its engine number.

That same day, Oury obtained a copy of Casualty Signal A98 issued by No. 271 Squadron on September 20, 1944, which confirmed that KG374 had been lost on the 19th, 'location not known, presumed over DZ'.


C 863
Signal from OC Sal BRU to HQ 85
Sal 10 19/7/45.
Found by F/Lt Darby in arnhem
area 16/7/45 DAK KG 374
MR E 654828. Two Stirlings.
1 Dak 1 mitch all E 2.
unidentified bodies in one or
more of these a/c. Approaches
to Stirling mined. C.E
to accompany Sgt Bingham
17 Sal. Party at Buunderkamp
MR Sheet 40 / 04 8816 who
has full gen as to location
of A/C according to local gen
A/C crashed Sep - Nov 1944
29/7/45
Sloper Cas 1 Dak KG 374
Twin Wasp C.P. 352669
271 Sqdn from Arnhem MR
E 661819 Sep 1944 time N/K
7 crew all killed. Buried
on site 7 graves marked
unknown British airman -
37 GRU. E/A
Total wreck Cat E 2 Army
Salvage A/C identified
by engine number A/C
No not traable
Cas sig copy raised by 271 Sqdn
A 98 - 20/9/44 (duplication of gen
not repeated here) Cas Rpt
1 serial Wasp R 1830/92 Pork 352669
2 std CP 352069 DAK III
Location N/K presumed one DZ
took off 1220 hrs day Sep 1944
Condition S. ETA later
Night operation "market"
crew Pilot F/L JSA LOD DFC
(149149). Co-pilot P/O REH. MEDHURST
(150870). navigator F/O H.A. King
(174666). WOP/AIR F/O A. Ballantyne
(169868). All missing also 2
army despatchers T/176341
Cpe NIXON. T/145 62999 Driver
HARPER T/166028. DRVR
RICKETTS T/169195 Driver
ROWBOTTOM all 233 Coy
RASC.
21st a.c. road.
470 Klarendaal
Scheveq
39 G.C.U.
Capt Williams
Battle Oosterbeek church
37 GRU
Tilburg
Capt Long



MEMO

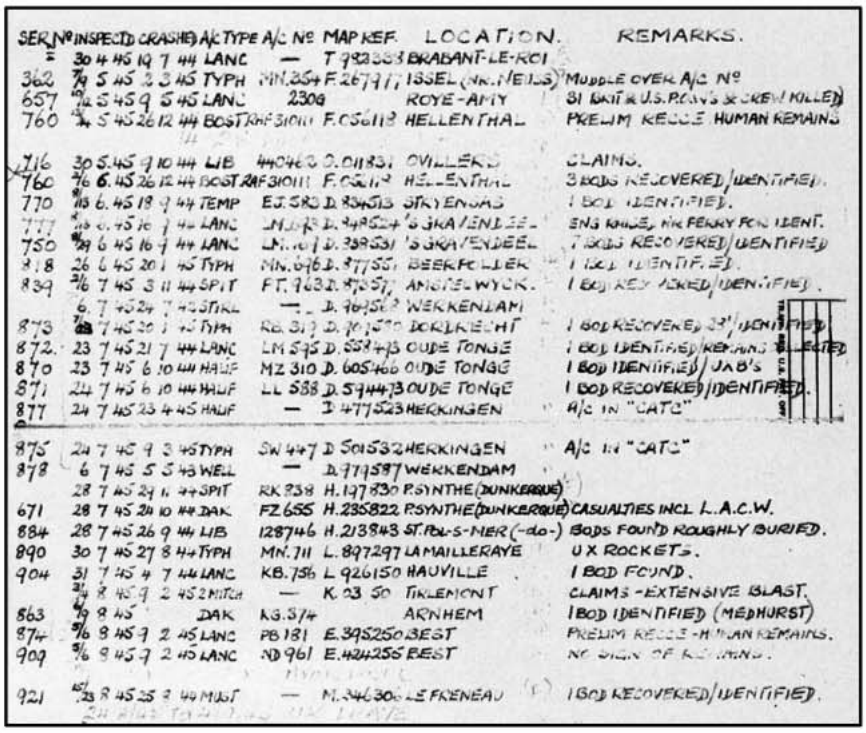
Date DAK KG. 374

Re 7 graves all with crosses. Inscription obliterated, Found disc of 169195 Rowbotham A. COE. which attached to nearest cross.

From Interviewed Capt Long 37 GRU (of TILBURG)

To Explained no identification undertaken yet. Has set programme - cannot depart from it and even A.V.M.'s son must take his turn. Chances are he will be identified but no record kept of names - merely numbered crosses and identification, registration with notify at of request. Suggests there may be 2 bodies in one of the graves. And bodies in bad state when found and bones strewn all over area.

P.T.O



SER	Nº INSPECTD	CRASHED	A/C TYPE	A/C Nº	MAP REF.	LOCATION.	REMARKS.
=	30 4 45	10 7 44	LANC	—	T 992333	BRABANT-LE-ROI	
362	7/9 5 45	2 3 45	TYPH	MN.354	F.267977	ISSEL (NR. VEILS)	MIDDLE OVER A/C Nº
657	12 5 45	9 5 45	LANC	2306		ROYE-AMY	3I BRIT & U.S. P.O.W'S & CREW KILLED
760	14 5 45	26 12 44	BOST	RAF 310111	F.C56113	HELLENTHAL	PRELIM RECCE. HUMAN REMAINS
716	30 5.45	9 10 44	LIB	44046?	D.011831	OVILLERS	CLAIMS.
760	7/6 6.45	26 12 44	BOST	RAF 310111	F.C56112	HELLENTHAL	3 BODS RECOVERED/IDENTIFIED.
770	13 6.45	18 9 44	TEMP	EJ.582	D.834513	STAYENRAS	1 BOD IDENTIFIED.
777	15 6.45	16 7 44	LANC	[illegible]	D.449524	's GRAVENDEEL	ENG KNEE, NR FERRY FOR IDENT.
750	29 6 45	16 9 44	LANC	[illegible]	D.398531	's GRAVENDEEL	7 BODS RECOVERED/IDENTIFIED
818	26 6 45	20 1 45	TYPH	MN.696	D.877551	BEERPOLDER	1 BOD IDENTIFIED.
839	2/6 7 45	3 11 44	SPIT	FT.963	D.870571	ANGERLWYCK.	1 BOD RECOVERED/IDENTIFIED.
	6 7 45	24 7 44	STIRL	—	D.769501	WERKENDAM	
873	28 7 45	20 1 45	TYPH	RA.313	D.707500	DORDRECHT	1 BOD RECOVERED/IDENTIFIED.
872	23 7 45	21 7 44	LANC	LM.545	D.558413	OUDE TONGE	1 BOD IDENTIFIED/REMAINS COLLECTED
870	23 7 45	6 10 44	HALF	MZ 310	D.605466	OUDE TONGE	1 BOD IDENTIFIED/JAB'S
871	24 7 45	6 10 44	HALF	LL 588	D.594413	OUDE TONGE	1 BOD RECOVERED/IDENTIFIED.
877	24 7 45	23 4 45	HALF	—	D.477523	HERKINGEN	A/C IN "CATC"
875	24 7 45	9 3 45	TYPH	SW 447	D.501532	HERKINGEN	A/C IN "CATC"
878	6 7 45	5 5 43	WELL	—	D.771587	WERKENDAM	
	28 7 45	24 1. 44	SPIT	RK 838	H.197830	P.SYNTHE (DUNKERQUE)	
671	28 7 45	24 10 44	DAK	FZ 655	H.235822	P.SYNTHE (DUNKERQUE)	CASUALTIES INCL L.A.C.W.
884	28 7 45	26 9 44	LIB	128746	H.213843	ST. POL-S-NER (-do-)	BODS FOUND ROUGHLY BURIED.
890	30 7 45	27 8 44	TYPH	MN.711	L.897297	LA MAILLERAYE	U X ROCKETS.
904	31 7 45	4 7 44	LANC	KB.756	L.926150	HAUVILLE	1 BOD FOUND.
	3/4 8 45	2 452	MITCH	—	K.23 50	TILLEMONT	CLAIMS - EXTENSIVE BLAST.
863	7/9 8 45	DAK		KG.374		ARNHEM	1 BOD IDENTIFIED (MEDHURST)
874	5/6 8 45	7 2 45	LANC	PB 181	E.395250	BEST	PRELIM RECCE - HUMAN REMAINS.
909	5/6 9 45	7 2 45	LANC	ND 961	E.424255	BEST	NO SIGN OF REMAINS.
921	12/13 8 45	25 3 44	MUST	—	M.446306	LE FRENEAU	1 BOD RECOVERED/IDENTIFIED.

Left: **Oury's notes on his interview with Captain Long of the 37th Graves Registration Unit.** *Above:* **Oury's survey of planes investigated. KG374 is No. 863 on the list.**

The signal listed the names of the four crew members and four RASC despatchers with their army numbers (King was still included as 'missing'), and also gave the plane's engine numbers: port CP352062, starboard CP352069.

From the 37th Graves Registration Unit headquarters at Tilburg (some 45 miles south-west of Arnhem), Oury learned that the seven unknown men were buried at map reference 662818, 400 yards north of a farm, with the remains of a wrecked plane around it. The seven graves had been registered by the Airborne MIA teams, that had reached Arnhem to search the battlefield for missing men, as Nos. B40 to B46.

Strangely enough, nobody seemed to have mentioned to Oury that a VC Inquiry team had already visited the site, and it is unknown whether he knew that Lord had been put up for a VC. On the other hand, he was certainly aware that Lord's copilot was the son of Air Vice-Marshal Medhurst. In fact, it appears that this was the main reason for him to investigate the wreck.

On August 6, Oury arrived at Wolfheze to begin his investigation of KG374. Map square 6681 was the fields around Reijers-Camp farm and the wreck and graves were about 400 yards north-west of the farm, just next to a small copse. On arrival, Oury found that most of the plane's wreckage had now been pushed to a ditch which lined the crash field. He found the seven graves all marked with crosses, but without any inscription as to the identity of the buried. Searching the area, he spotted an ID disc with the Army number 169195, identifying it as that of Driver Arthur Rowbotham, one of the RASC despatchers. Oury attached the disc to the nearest cross.

Later, he went to interview Captain Long, the CO of the 37th Graves Registration Unit, about the seven graves. Long told him that no identification had yet been undertaken — a quite amazing statement in view of the earlier visit by the VC Inquiry team. Apparently, Oury then requested that the bodies be given priority on the grounds that one of them was the son of Air Vice-Marshal Medhurst. At this, Long answered that his men

The remains of Dakota KG374 pictured by Oury on August 8, 1945. The wreckage has been moved from the crash site to a ditch alongside the field, awaiting removal by a scrap-metal dealer. Note the inscription 'Inspected by F/O Oury 151 RU' painted on the piece of wreckage on the left which gives the date as '8.8.45'. As Oury's notes show, the only plane inspected by him on this day was KG374, so there is no doubt that the photo depicts Lord's plane. However, the precise location where it was taken is something of a mystery. One would assume the track is the one running from the crash field to the Reijers-Camp farm, but that never had a kerb like the one visible in the picture.

SAINTS

R=RECOVERED T=TRACED I= IDENTIFIED (S)=RAF SALVAGE (C) =WITH CIVILIANS (U)=UNASSISTED

	DATE	TYPE.	SER Nº	LOCATION	IDENTITY	CATEGORY			DURATN (DAYS)
1	7.2.45	MUST.	FX989	ANSEGHEM (B)	NOT AVAILABLE	R (U)	I	F +	½ –
2	2/3.4.45	LANC.	LM439	MARQUISE (F)	F/SGT. FRANCIS ALLEN	R (C)	I	B +	2
3	16.4.45	FORT.	LK892	AUBENGUE (F)	HILLS 592	T (C)	I		2
4	26.4.45	HALIF.	HX190	RAPSECOURT (F)	MASON 672	T (C)	I		½
5	2/6.6.45	BOST.	310111	HELLENTHAL (G)	(O.K) P.C. DOHERTY RCAF	R (C)	I	B +	5
6	—"—	—"—	—"—	—"—	(G) (O.R) W.I. BYRNE RCAF	R (C)	I	B +	
7	—"—	—"—	—"—	—"—	(G) (NOT AVAILABLE)	R (C)	I	B +	
8	13.6.45	TEMP.	EJ583	STRYENSAS (H)	F/O R.H. HANNEY	T (C)	I		½
9	8/9.6.45	LANC.	LM169	'SGRAVENDEEL (H)	F/O P.W. TOOLEY	R (S)	I	B +	22
10	—"—	—"—	—"—	—"—	(H) F/O H. JOHNSON	R (S)	I	B +	
11	—"—	—"—	—"—	—"—	(H) F/O J.E. BROWN	R (S)	I	B +	
12	—"—	—"—	—"—	—"—	(H) F/O D.S. THOMAS	R (S)	I	B +	
13	—"—	—"—	—"—	—"—	(H) SGT E.J. SMALLDON	R (S)	I	B +	
14	—"—	—"—	—"—	—"—	(H) SGT L.M. GILL	R (S)	I	B +	
15	—"—	—"—	—"—	—"—	(H) SGT R.W. HITTINGTON	R (S)	I	B +	
16	26.6.45	TYPH.	MN696	BEERPOLDER (H)	W/O K. BUTTON	T (C)	I		½
17	2/6.7.45	SPIT	PT963	DUBBELDAM (H)	F/O H.M. GOLDSMIT	R (S)	I	F +	5 –
18	7/23.7.45	TYPH	RB319	DORDRECHT (H)	F/LT. H.Y. LAO.	R (S) (C)	I	F +	17 –
19	23.7.45	LANC.	LM595	OUDE TONGE (H)	F/SGT. P. MAC GIBBON	R (U)	I (C)	B ⊕	1
20	24.7.45	HALIF	LL588	OUDE TONGE (H)	SGT. G.H. TILBURN	R (S) (C)	I	B +	2
21	23.7.45	HALIF	MZ310	OUDETONGE (H)	SGT. A. REILLY.	T (C)	I (C)		1
22	9.8.45	DAK	KG374	ARNHEM (H)	DRVR. A. ROWBOTTOM.	T (U)	I	B ⊕	1
23	15/23.8.45	MUST		LE FRENEAU (F)	F/O. I. NEYNELL	R (S)	I	F +	9 –
24	7/22.9.45	LANC.	KB911	BERGEDORF (G)	SGT. R.J. GREEN RCAF	R (C)	I	B +	16
25	—"—	—"—	—"—	—"—	(G) (NOT AVAILABLE)	R (C)	I	B +	
26	23/29.9.45	LANC	PB181	BEST	(H) F/SGT (NOT AVAILABLE)	R (S) (C)	I	B +	21

Oury's list of 'Saints' — crash casualties traced by him. No. 22 is Arthur Rowbotham, one of the RASC despatchers aboard KG374.

were following a set program from which they could not depart, stating that 'even an Air Vice-Marshal's son must take his turn'. The chances were that he would be identified, Long said, but as yet he had kept no record of names of bodies found by his men. Human remains discovered so far had merely been roughly buried awaiting further identification and registration. As for KG374, it appears that Long was still under the impression that all eight people aboard the plane had died in the crash, for he suggested to Oury that there might be *two* bodies in one of the seven graves. All bodies had been in a bad state when buried, Long explained, with bones strewn all over the area. Long promised Oury he would notify him of the results of the identification.

In all, Oury spent three days, August 6-8, in the Arnhem area investigating KG374. Before he left, he took a picture of the plane's wreckage.

The seven bodies were finally disinterred from their field graves and transferred to the Airborne Cemetery on August 22 — the date is confirmed from CWGC records.

No. 2 Section (Belgium) of the Missing Research and Enquiry Service (MRES), RAF, conducted a final investigation into the case under Casualty Inquiry No. B.7S. On the basis of King's statements, documents supplied by him, the exhumation reports, and conversations with Captain Long of the 37th GRU, the final report submitted by the OC of No. 2 Section, MRES, on September 7 confirmed the identifications made of Lord, Medhurst and Ballantyne, adding: 'It is understood that 37 GRU have made arrangements to reserve Grave No. 8 for the fourth RAF member of this crew, but it is confirmed that there were only *three* RAF casualties in this crash, and Grave No. 8 will not be required to be earmarked'.

The men who died in Dakota KG374 were buried side by side in the Oosterbeek Airborne Cemetery, in two separate groups: Lord, Medhurst and Ballantyne in Plot 4 (the plot reserved for RAF personnel), Row B, Graves 5 to 7 respectively, and the despatchers — Rowbotham, Ricketts, Nixon and Harper — in Plot 15, Row B, Graves 13 to 15.

Left: **Lord, Medhurst and Ballantyne are now buried in Plot 4 of the Oosterbeek Airborne Cemetery. This plot was especially reserved for RAF personnel.** *Right:* **Nearby, in Plot 15, lie the four RASC despatchers: Rowbotham, Ricketts, Nixon and Harper.**

Harry King said of them: 'These men were not volunteers like aircrew, they received no "Flying Pay", yet were, without doubt, superb in their fulfilment of duty even though KG374 was burning for the whole period over the dropping zone.'

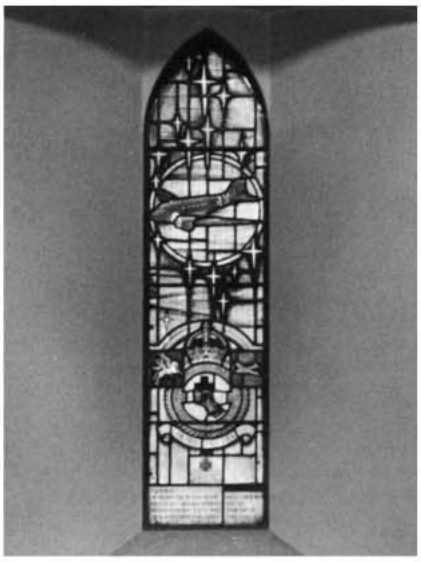
David Lord's medals, now held by Wing Commander Frank Lord (Retd). From left to right are the Victoria Cross, DFC, India General Service Medal with North-West Frontier 1937-39 bar, 1939-45 Star, Africa Star, Burma Star, France and Germany Star, Defence Medal, and the War Medal with Mentioned in Dispatches Oakleaf. (F. Lord)

The award of a posthumous VC to Flight Lieutenant Lord was announced in *The London Gazette* of November 13, 1945. King was awarded the Dutch Bronze Lion in May 1950 by Prince Bernhard at a ceremony in the Dutch Embassy in Park Lane, London. The other crew members and the RASC men received no official recognition for their bravery at Arnhem.

In the post-war RAF, Lord's name became perpetuated when his parents presented the Lord Trophy to RAF Transport Command for annual award to the transport squadron considered most proficient in the support rôle. Further recognition came on November 11, 1968, when David's brother, Wing Commander Frank E. Lord, AFC, with Harry King in attendance, performed a ceremony of naming a VC 10 — XR810 — of No. 10 Squadron at Brize Norton, 'David Lord VC'.

In 1993, Lord received new honour when the Battle of Britain Memorial Flight acquired a vintage Dakota, ZA794, and a decision was made to paint it in wartime colours with the code letters of Lord's aircraft.

After the war, Harry King returned to the police force in 1946, working with the Special Police Force Corps in Schleswig-Holstein in Germany under the auspices of the Foreign Office. In 1951, he joined the Oxfordshire police force, leaving in 1957 to join the Queen's Messenger Section of the Foreign Office. Forced to retire in 1970 from ill-health due to his war injuries, he died on October 1, 1984. The casket with his ashes was buried underneath the No. 271 Squadron memorial window of All Saints Church at Down Ampney. The window, which incorporates the squadron badge, the Airborne Pegasus and Lord's Victoria Cross, was designed by and the initiative of Alan Hartley, a former flight mechanic in No. 271 Squadron, who conceived the idea after a nostalgia trip to Down Ampney in 1971. A Church Window Memorial Fund was set up, which received wide support, and the window was dedicated in June 1974. Alan Hartley is also the secretary of the thriving Down Ampney Association. (E. Pepper)



1994 CRASH SITE INVESTIGATION

After the war, the farmers in the Arnhem area, returning to their homesteads after evacuation, quickly began clearing their fields of war debris in order to resume ploughing and farming. Weapons, grenades, helmets and other items of equipment found were picked up; the remains of the hundreds of gliders, which the Germans had set fire to, were cleared away; aircraft wrecks were moved off the fields, either by the farmer themselves or by salvage teams or scrap-metal dealers. As field graves were lifted, and wreckage cleared away, the exact details of where an aircraft had come down, or who had died in it, faded from memory.

For five decades, the site where Lord's Dakota had crashed remained uninvestigated because nobody in Holland knew exactly where it had come down. However, after Jan Hey had published the approximate position of the crew's field graves in the Arnhem *Roll of Honour* in 1986, the Dutch Aircraft Examination Group, an Arnhem-based group of young aircraft recovery enthusiasts, began taking an interest. Their first scouring attempts were unsuccessful. It was only after we supplied them with the map references from Oury's report, that they were able to finally pinpoint the site. They consulted an aerial photograph of the Reijers-Camp area taken in February 1945 and this clearly showed a Dakota wreck at the position indicated.

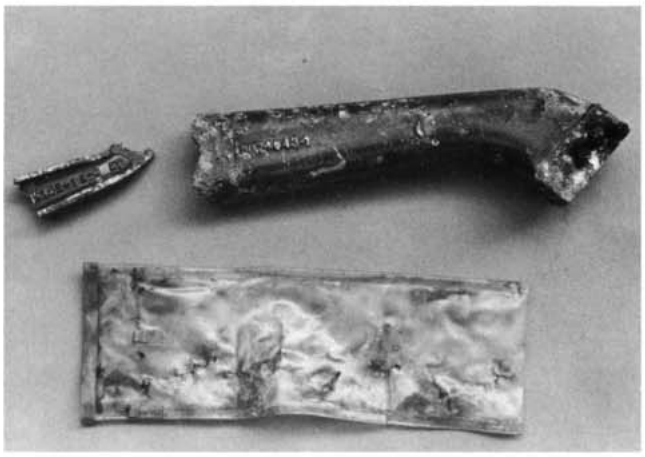
By 1994, with the 50th Commemoration of the Battle of Arnhem coming up, the DAEG decided to investigate the crash site. Permission was obtained from the Renkum municipality, and from Pleun Noordam, the owner of Reijers-Camp farm and the son of the farmer of 1944. In the mid-1970s, his own children had found a propeller blade which he had donated to the Airborne Museum Hartenstein, unaware of course that it had come from an aircraft with such a special historical significance. Mr Noordam could not confirm whether all of the wreckage had been cleared away in 1945.

On Wednesday, March 9, the DAEG began their investigation. With metal detectors, and dividing the field in grid squares, they made a systematic survey of the area around where the aerial photo showed the aircraft had lain. Within ten minutes, the readings on the detectors showed they had hit upon something. Digging up the loose sand, they found a batch of small aircraft pieces at a depth of about two feet, clearly fragments which someone had raked together in a pit. Buried with it was an armoured plate. A little further north, they found a small radio panel. All around, the surface soil contained numerous minute fragments of metal and aluminium. It became clear that the main wreckage had indeed been cleared away in 1945, and that what was left had been ground to particles by years of ploughing. No large sections of aircraft were found, but enough was recovered to identify the plane as a Dakota. At the end of the day, everything found was reburied together in one pit, and the site marked, with plans made for a second dig.

One of the propeller blades of Dakota KG374, found by the children of farmer Noordam in the mid-1970s and now displayed at the Hartenstein Museum at Oosterbeek. At the time it was not realised that it came from such an historic aircraft.

In March 1994, the Dutch Aircraft Examination Group carried out a systematic search of the crash site of Lord's Dakota. (DAEG)

One of the best items found was this antenna tuning panel. (DAEG)



Left: **The main hoard.** *Right:* **A few smaller metal fragments and (bottom) a plastic container from an escape kit.** *Below:* **An important find was part of a cockpit seat cradle (bottom), particular to a Dakota, thus confirming the aircraft type. Top left is a piece of the fuselage and top right a rocker arm of one of the Pratt & Whitney engines. (DAEG)**

Two weeks later, on March 25, four members of the group returned to the site to complete the search, and to make sure that nothing had been overlooked. The weather was atrocious, with rain and an icy wind, and working in the muddy clay was difficult. Again, they systematically searched the whole field with metal detectors, but little was found. Digging up their finds of the first visit, they transported everything to the DAEG office and workshop building at Deelen airfield.

The fragments from Lord's Dakota KG374 were exhibited for the first time at the DAEG's exhibition at Oosterbeek Municipal Library in September 1994, during the 50th Commemoration weeks. Cleaned and displayed with proper documentation, they made quite a sensation. Today, they are at the DAEG's own permanent museum, which was opened in June 1996 at Deelen airfield. (The address of the DAEG Museum is: Hoenderloseweg, Building 20, Deelen. Phone: 026-3718320. Open Saturdays and Sundays, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.)

Over the years, several Dakota's have been painted to represent David Lord's aircraft, and in 1993, when the Battle of Britain Memorial Flight acquired a vintage Dakota, the decision was taken to dress it in the colours of his aircraft. Dakota ZA947 was built in February 1942. First issued to the USAAF, it was transferred to the Royal Canadian Air Force in September and served in Europe for 29 years before being declared surplus in 1971. It was bought up by the Royal Aircraft Establishment at Farnborough, whose own Dakota was due for retirement. Allocated the serial KG661, it was used for a variety of tasks, including sonobuoy dropping (from holes cut in the fuselage) and launching remotely-piloted vehicles. When it was discovered that serial KG661 had already been issued to another Dakota, one that had been destroyed in an accident in 1944, the aircraft was redesignated ZA947. Cleared for para-dropping, it was used for jumps or appeared on static display at many air shows. In 1992, the Defence Research Agency, successors to the RAE, declared it surplus and offered it for disposal. The plane was adopted by Strike Command, and in March 1993 issued to the Battle of Britain Memorial Flight. After engineering and structural work by Air Atlantique at Coventry, the aircraft was flown by Squadron Leader Andy Tomalin to RAF Marham to be painted in wartime colours, complete with squadron/plane code YS-DM. During 1994-95, it performed at various 50th Commemoration events, including an airborne drop at Arnhem. The Dakota is used to train new BoBMF crews and keep the pilots of the flight's Lancaster current during the winter when the bomber is out of action.

PER ARDUA AD ASTRA
FLIGHT LIEUTENANT
D. S. A. LORD. VC. DFC.
PILOT
ROYAL AIR FORCE
19TH SEPTEMBER 1944 AGE 30
FOR VALOUR
GREATER LOVE
THAN THIS NO MAN HATH
THAT A MAN LAY DOWN
HIS LIFE FOR HIS FRIENDS
R. I. P.